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Czech Minister Addresses CE Committee

AU1105104093 Prague CTK in English 1207 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Strasbourg, May 7 (CTK correspondent)—The Czech Republic attaches great importance to relations with the Council of Europe (CE) and sees membership of it as a precondition for integration into European cooperation, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said today.

Addressing the CE Committee of Ministers, Zieleniec said the Czech Republic espoused democratic traditions and a peaceful foreign political orientation.

In connection with the republic's application for EC membership, Zieleniec recalled the constitutional, cultures and civilized way in which the former Czechoslovakia had split.

He stressed the Czechs' wish that Central Europe become a stable and cooperating region in which natural integration trends would be asserted and good neighborly relations established.

Zieleniec pointed out that since 1989, when the democratic order was installed in Czechoslovakia, the federation and later its successors—the Czech and Slovak Republics, had signed several essential international treaties concerning human rights and fundamental freedoms, and cooperation in various spheres.

Czechoslovakia was a CE member until its split as of January 1, 1993. The successor states have had to apply for CE membership again.

Today's appearance by Zieleniec before the CE Committee of Ministers was part of the necessary procedure preceding admission of any country to the CE.

It is hoped that the Czech Republic would join the CE in June.

In the discussion following Zieleniec's appearance, delegates voiced strong support for the Czech republic's admission to the body.

The Austrian delegate was one of the first to support the candidacy of the Czech Republic, adding that his country would try to speed up a decision on the Czech application. The Swedish delegation noted problems with the Romany (Gypsy) minority in the Czech Republic, but added that the CE was willing to offer Prague concrete help on the issue.

Zieleniec emphasized that there were no problems with respecting human rights in the Czech Republic. He noted that the Czech Republic had created a Council for Minorities which was examining ways of overcoming problems faced by minorities.

Liechtenstein did not oppose the Czech Republic's application, as it had once threatened to do due to a property dispute, and its delegate expressed the hope that the two countries could establish good relations and resolve their dispute.

Italy concluded the discussion with strong support for Czech Membership in the CE.

A Czech Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said the Czech Republic's prospects for membership were very hopeful and that it would likely join the organization at the end of June, becoming its 27 member nation.

Admission to CE Matter of Weeks

AU1105104293 Prague CTK in English 2158 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Strasbourg, May 7 (CTK correspondent)—The process of the Czech Republic's admission to the Council of Europe (CE) is well underway and that goal could be reached within a few weeks, CE Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere said today.

She reacted to a speech by Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec delivered before the CE parliament in Strasbourg.

Lalumiere touched on several questions which still need to be cleared before the CE parliament takes a positive stand on the Czech Republic's candidacy to the Council of Europe.

She mentioned the screening law (valid in the Czech Republic and banning people linked to the former communist-run StB secret police, Communist Party officials and members of the People's Militia from high government and economic posts until 1996), which she considers to be linked more to the former Czechoslovak federation than to the Czech Republic. Lalumiere said she believes that this question would not exceed legal limits and that it would soon become an episode of the past.

Lalumiere shortly referred to her Thursday meeting with Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik. She voiced her understanding for the troubles faced currently by Slovakia, noting that Slovakia's setting out for independence is rather difficult due to the country's complicated history, to the ethnic minority problem as well as to its weaker economic background.

However, the Czechs' and Slovaks' different situations must not mean that the CE will take different stands on a Slovak request for admission to the CE, Lalumiere stressed.

Zhelev Tours Tervel, Views Reform Progress

AU0805201293 Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 8 May 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 8 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev, accompanied by Deputy Agriculture Minister Ventislav Stoyanov, today visited the Municipality of Tervel (northeastern Bulgaria), where he was familiarized with the progress of land reform and the process of farm land restitution. In the town square, the head of state met with the local people and handed title deeds to landowners.

The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, which left for Strasbourg today to attend the regular sitting of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, will move a draft resolution suggesting compensations for the countries observing strictly the UN Security Council embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. The delegation will also address an inquiry to the Committee of Ministers about the possibilities to compensate Bulgaria's losses arising from the observance of the embargo.

At an extraordinary meeting today, the cabinet today authorized the Bulgarian Ambassador to the United States Ognyan Pishev to sign an agreement with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on a 93 million U.S. dollar loan for the National Electricity Company. [passage omitted]

Five royalist and legitimist organizations (the Enlightenment Association, Kingdom of Bulgaria Coalition, Monarchist Conservative Union, Kingdom of Bulgaria Union, and the Union of Free Democrats) signed an agreement on joint political actions in Ruse (north central Bulgaria) today. [passage omitted]

The International Centre for Minority Problems and Cultural Interactions ended its session in Kurdzhali (southern Bulgaria). [passage omitted]

Government Adopts Decree on Gambling

AU1005183693 Sofia BTA in English 1628 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—At its session today the government adopted a special decree on gambling. Under this decree, all organizers of gambling games will have to apply for licenses by August 1. At present in Sofia and in the other Bulgarian cities there are many establishments, mostly cafes and bistros, which among other things offer gambling games. So far there was no legislative document regulating this issue.

The decree adopted today treats all issues related to the terms for issuing gambling games licenses and the fees required for this. It also regulates the control of the state over gambling games.

Licenses for gambling games will be issued by an interdepartmental commission on gambling with the Finance Ministry. It will be run by the finance minister and its staff will be appointed by the cabinet. The commission will also include representatives of the ministries of the interior and trade as well as of the Committees for Tourism and Standardization and Metrology. The members of the commission and its staff will not be able to take part in the gambling business directly or through other persons while working at the commission and two years after leaving it.

Under the decree, gambling houses or casinos can be opened only in population centers with a population of over 100,000, in tourist centers and on ships sailing under the Bulgarian flag.

Cabinet Approves Bill on Business Activity

AU1005183893 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 10 May 93

Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today approved a bill on the amendment of Decree No. 56 on business activity, a major piece of economic legislation. It took effect in January 1989, before Zhivkov's ouster, and has been amended several times so far.

The government bill proposes new regulations concerning the calculation of depreciation allowances and gross profit and the distribution of losses over the next five years. The bill regulates the availability of tax relief to juristic persons with no state or municipal holding engaged in business. The bill includes texts on tax issues connected with the winding-up and transformation of local and foreign economic agents.

The Finance Ministry, which sponsors the bill, says Decree No. 56 should be amended to increase budget revenues and spread the tax burden among different taxes.

The bill includes a clause on preventing tax evasion through transfer pricing. It aims to put an end to the practice of reducing or eliminating profits originating in this country in which internal prices are cited and loans are given by parent companies to subsidiaries. This has inflicted losses on Bulgaria.

The income and profit of local and foreign persons will be taxed on an equal basis.

The bill approved today will vie with other bills proposing amendments to Decree No. 56 submitted to parliament.

Government Approves Bill on Security Organs

AU1005191093 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Today the government approved bills on the National Police, National Security Service and on special devices.

In an interview for the National Radio Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov said he hoped parliament would give these bills priority. He said that they are based on the principles of European legislation in this field. "It is inadmissible to think that this institution would act democratically on its own, without its activities being regulated by the respective laws," Mr. Mikhaylov said.

The national police bill regulates the structure and the management of the police, the rights of the police bodies and their duties. It also fixes the social rights and social security of police officials. The main objective of the bill is to guarantee public order and security and at the same time to give complete freedom to the citizens to exercise their constitutional rights and freedoms.

The National Security Service bill regulates the structure and the activities of the Counterintelligence Unit at the Ministry of the Interior. It provides for the establishment of special bodies within the National Security Service for operative action, analysis and planning, coordination, training and administrative activities and a centralized automated processing of information and operative documentation. The bodies of the National Security Service will survey and control persons and sites related to intelligence to the benefit of foreign forces, activities aimed against internal and economic security, international terrorist organizations, nuclear security, illegal trade in weapons, drugs, etc. The granting of information by the National Security Service to other competent state bodies will take place with the sanction of the minister of the interior.

Special intelligence devices are those used for surveying, photographing, recording and other similar operations without the knowledge and despite the categorical disagreement of the persons under control, it is pointed out in the special intelligence devices bill. It provides for these devices to be used only in cases related to the clearing and prevention of public law crimes when the necessary information cannot be obtained in any other way provided for by the law.

Sanctions to use special intelligence devices restricting the freedom and the confidentiality of correspondence and of other communications as well as the sanctity of the home will be issued by the District Prosecuting Magistrate and for the military by the respective prosecutor of the Armed Forces.

Special intelligence devices will be used only for clearing and preventing public law crimes (homicide, drugs and arms smuggling, etc.) and in defence of national security.

The National Intelligence Service, the National Security Service, the National Police, the border troops, the Central Service for Organized Crime Control, Intelligence and Counterintelligence Services and the Military Police of the Defense Ministry will be entitled to use special intelligence devices and the information obtained through them. National Investigation Service Chief Ani Kruleva asked for the investigation service to be included in this list too, the press reported today.

In an editorial 24 CHASA, describes the attempt of the government to regulate the relations between the police and the public as encouraging. According to this daily, the passing of the three bills will determine the perimeter of the activities of these services and will decrease the number of political scandals breaking out in Bulgaria.

Statistical Institute Provides Data on Inflation

AU1005200193 Sofia BTA in English 1825 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Inflation in April ran at 3.9 per cent, the National Statistical Institute (NSI) said today. Prices rose as follows: foods 4.5 per cent, non-foods 3.2 per cent, services 4.4 per cent.

Inflation dropped in April from 5.6 per cent in March, according to NSI reports. In the January-April period it reached 22.1 per cent. The 1993 budget bill which passed on first reading in parliament is based on a projection for 60 per cent annual rate of inflation.

Police Deny Statement on Plot To Kill Havel

LD0805162493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 8 May 93

[Excerpts] Prague police denied a statement by Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml about an alleged planned conspiracy against [Czech] President Vaclav Havel. This was announced today by Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subert. [passage omitted]

Police confirmed a report about the arrest of five foreigners and the confiscation of a stolen car. However, they said that contrary to original reports they had not seized any weapons during the arrest. They allegedly followed the group's movement for some time, and the decision to arrest its members was accelerated by a report about a planned assassination of Vaclav Havel. As police do not have enough data to launch a case against them, the five members of the group—citizens of the former Yugoslavia—will be deported from the Czech Republic.

Havel Interviewed on Talks With Slovakia

LD0905154793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1218 GMT 9 May 93

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamchyna at Lany presidential residence on 8 May: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tamchyna] Last week there were several gradually updated reports about a possible meeting between you and Slovak President Kovac within the framework of property talks on the settlement between the Czech and Slovak republics. Mr. President, how have you defined your role in the coming talks?

[Havel] I have not felt any special need to enter into property talks at this stage. It would appear to me that this is a matter that belongs to the executive branch, to the relevant commissions, and to the government. Nonetheless, I have always been and will be prepared, if it appears to serve some purpose, to engage myself and help a good cause.

I did not develop any initiative of my own in this matter, but last Saturday Slovak President Kovac, following the meeting of the two countries' prime ministers the previous day, called me and proposed a grand meeting which would be attended by the presidents, prime ministers, and foreign and finance ministers. He proposed that this meeting take place last week.

I took some time for consultations. I immediately called Prime Minister Klaus. We discussed the matter and both decided that such a meeting would be premature because a meeting of the property commission is being prepared. We agreed that we should accept the idea of holding such a summit in general, but that we should propose that it take place only after the meeting of the property commissions, having taken regard to the outcome of those meetings. I discussed this with President Kovac, and he agreed with us. [passage omitted] It is evident that the history of this proposal is very simple, and I do not know why there has been so much conjecture and speculation and all kinds of alleged misunderstandings about it. It was as I told you.

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, we spoke about your possible role in the process of the property settlement between the two republics. How do you perceive the role of President Kovac on the Slovak side, as it was he who actually made the offer of a summit meeting?

[Havel] After the visit of President Kovac—the first state visit—and the lengthy talks I had with him at the time, after several phone calls, and also after the latest call, I personally have the impression that President Kovac is playing a very affirmative role in this whole matter. As head of state, he is aware of all the possible wide political aspects, is aware of the importance of good coexistence between the two republics, of how much this is in their intrinsic interest, and how important it is to avoid burdening this coexistence for many years to come by some dragged out property issue. My conclusion, on the basis of all I know, is that he is playing a practical and constructive role. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] On Thursday [6 May] the public was told of a plot to assassinate you, Mr. President. At a news conference at the Interior Ministry yesterday, some doubt was cast on this. How does this affect the person who was to be the target?

[Havel] I must admit that I first heard about this from television, just like all other citizens. So I knew nothing about it in advance and that is nice. This proves the discretion of our police who, as I was told later, did not want to inform me because it was to the advantage of the investigation to keep the matter concealed. In any case, the police probably hold the view that I am a chatterbox and that is why they did not tell me anything. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, if you allow me I would like to mention at the close of our conversation a tragic event that happened recently on the European political scene. Former French Prime Minister Pierre Beregovoy died in France. How do you regard the suicide of that man? [passage omitted]

[Havel] I must confess that the report of his death shook me a great deal. As someone who has been involved in politics for some time now, I have been able perhaps better than some others to put myself in his position. He was apparently a sensitive man who was unable to carry the burden of abuse, failure, campaigning, and the like.

On one hand, I think that his act was evidence of some kind of human truthfulness and purity, and these are qualities which are truly desirable in the world of politics. On the other hand, I think the ability to acquire a thick skin also belongs to politics. If one were to take everything absolutely seriously and in dead earnest, one

would have to think about suicide or resignation several times a day. One needs to take everything in, experience, feel, and know about it, but at the same time it is necessary to mobilize a certain strength to take an overview. I think that to find the right balance between human receptivity and sensitivity and the necessary thick skin of politicians is not simple. It would appear to me that the problem of our political culture at present does not lie in us being threatened with suicides of oversensitive politicians, but rather in many politicians not caring too much about this or that issue and in far too easily finding ways of avoiding this or that problem.

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, thank you for the conversation. I wish you a good afternoon.

[Havel] Thank you.

Liechtenstein's Position on Property Protested

LD1005172793 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 10 (CTK)—The Czech Foreign Ministry today protested against Liechtenstein's attempts to block the Czech Republic's membership of or association with international organisations over pending property issues.

In a statement passed to CTK, the ministry said it can see no legal grounds for using the international forum for presentation of pending bilateral questions.

Up to date, Liechtenstein has not recognised the independence of the Czech Republic. The recognition of a state is a condition for the establishment of diplomatic ties and for any other negotiations, and is incompatible with making any conditions, the statement says.

Because property questions have never been incorporated in any agreement between the Czech Republic and Liechtenstein, they cannot be related to the question of succession to the former Czechoslovakia, the statement points out.

In informal talks between representatives of Czechoslovakia and Liechtenstein held since the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in late 1989, Liechtenstein has been raising property claims to Czechoslovakia going back to 1945.

The Czech Government has made it clear that there will be no restitution of property confiscated before February 25, 1948, when the communists seized power in Czechoslovkia.

In a meeting with Czech journalists in Vaduz May 4, Prince Hans Adam II of Liechtenstein demanded 300 million Swiss francs from the Czech Republic as compensation for Liechtenstein property in the former Czechoslovakia.

After its establishment in 1918, Czechoslovakia confiscated Liechtenstein estates spread on an area of about 1,600 square kilometres, mostly in south Moravia. In 1938, it agreed to return part of the land and provide financial compensation, but this was marred by the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by Nazi Germany in 1939, Hans Adam claimed.

He said that after World War Two the property settlement had been impaired by the Benes decrees, issued by the then Czechoslovak President Edvard Benes, as members of the Liechtenstein ruling house were regarded as Germans, not Liechtensteins.

SNS Chairman Urges United Opposition

AU1005120293 Prague CTK in English 1157 GMT 6 May 93

[Text] Bratislava, May 6 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party (SNS) does not think the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) should fill the post of director of the Supreme Office of Inspection, said SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak at a press conference today.

Cernak said that it is necessary for opposition parties to coordinate their approach, and that narrow partisan interests and cold political calculations should not be allowed to dominate. He said that this concerned the Democratic Left Party (SDL) in particular. The appointment of the director of the Supreme Office of Inspection could clarify the position of the SDL, he said, adding that if this post is filled by the HZDS, it will be clear with whom the SDL is playing.

If we have a united opposition we have a chance to assert our opinion, Cernak said. The Slovak political scene is presently so dynamic, he said, that in the course of a few days the situation could fundamentally change and the calculations of the SDL would not have to come out.

Cernak, who is a former member of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's cabinet, declined to comment on a statement made by Meciar on Tuesday that the Czech Republic owes Slovakia $17.7 billion. He said, however, that it was extremely important that property relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia be resolved. To preserve the positive image of the division of the Czechoslovak federation abroad, he said, the two sides should discuss, step-by-step, the accumulated problems.

The definitive goal of the SNS is to be accepted into the European Democratic Union, Cernak said, adding that the party leadership does not anticipate a counteraction among members to the recent rightward shift in the party's orientation.

Communist Leader Criticizes Election Bill

AU1005121093 Prague CTK in English 1250 GMT 6 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 6 (CTK)—The passage of the Czech Government's election bill would markedly curtail the plurality of views and political subjects, Jiri Svoboda,

chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), said at a press conference today.

I am hinting at the duty (incorporated in the bill) for a party to pay bail [as received] of 100,000 korunas (about $3,400) per constituency. If realized, the law would not provide for the elections to be a competition of ideas and concepts, but a competition of the economic strength of particular parties, Svoboda said.

He pledged to plead for smaller parties in this sense, and added that the bill contained a number of contradictions and collisions with the valid constitutional system.

Svoboda called for a broader representation of parliamentarians' groups from the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the talks on dividing former federal property.

Commenting on an appeal to the Czech citizens to buy Czech products, issued by Czech industry and trade minister last week, Svoboda said that his party made this demand as early as one year ago.

Svoboda said he fully concurred with Frantisek Trnka, chairman of the Liberal Social Union (LSU), who said it was paradoxical for the appeal to be issued by Dlouhy who had been greatly responsible for the decline of domestic industrial and farming enterprises.

Figures Show Economy 'Worse Than Expected'

LD0705182293 Prague CTK in English 1758 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Hradec Kralove, East Bohemia, May 7 (CTK)—Preliminary figures show that economic developments in the Czech Republic in the first quarter of 1993 are worse than expected at the beginning of the year, Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said today.

Dlouhy was delivering a lecture here under the aegis of Germany's Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Dlouhy stated that according to some estimates, the Czech Republic's gross national product had dropped by 4-5 per cent and industrial production by 9 per cent.

Unfavourable developments have been registered in foreign trade, which is also impaired by a considerable decline in exports to Slovakia of up to 45 per cent, according to some figures, Dlouhy stressed.

Imports, mainly those of consumer goods, are rising, he stated.

These developments have not affected basic economic indicators, no budget deficit has emerged and the currency has remained stable, Dlouhy said.

The inflation following January's price rise due to introduction of a new taxation system is under control, Dlouhy emphasised.

The figures mentioned, however, could be inaccurate in view of changes in the statistical sphere following Czechoslovakia's split on January 1, 1993, as well as due to so far uncalculated foreign trade data, mainly those concerning Czech-Slovak trade, Dlouhy explained.

Some indicators, as, for example, a rise in gas consumption or a slight decline in consumption of electric energy, do not imply such a marked decline at all, Dlouhy said.

Dlouhy considers economic developments after three-years of economic reforms in the Czech Republic, and earlier in the former Czechoslovakia, to be the best of all post-communist countries. This was influenced not only by the country's industrial and trade traditions, but mainly by removing the previous system of central planning and by quick liberalisation of the whole economic sphere so that it could adapt itself to the West European conditions, including competition and free market, Dlouhy said.

The Czech Republic, and earlier Czechoslovakia, have succeeded the best in maintaining their macroeconomic stability, Dlouhy said.

Dlouhy pointed out that the macroeconomic environment has been already stablilised in the Czech Republic.

In view of a changed situation on the world uranium market, Dlouhy does not rule out that the Czech Republic will halt its uranium output after 1995. The Czech cabinet will decide on the issue still in May, he added.

Dlouhy also focused on the fact that some European Community (EC) countries transfer their domestic problems to the EC and thus affect trade policy of such countries as the Czech Republic. On the contrary, Germany and Great Britain are the engines, which are striving to remove protectionism and open their markets to the post-communist countries' goods, Dlouhy said.

No marked improvement in this EC policy can be expected in 1994-95, Dlouhy stated. But it is our duty to fight for every single inch of space, for access to these markets, he added.

That is why the Czech Republic's policy must be clearly oriented to acquiring full-fledged membership in the EC in the late 1990s, Dlouhy stressed.

Meciar Outlines Claim Against Czech Republic

AU1005113293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 May 93 p 2

["jj"-signed article: "How it Is With the Czech Debts"]

[Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said at a press conference in Vienna that the Czech Republic owes Slovakia $17.7 billion. He confirmed this figure yesterday in Trencianske Teplice. According to him, it includes claims for the former Czechoslovak flag, historical claims associated with the state's breakup, and claims connected with the loss of territory during the 1920-45 period—this was due to the activities of Mr. Benes and had nothing to do with Slovaks. During the conclusion of the Czechoslovak-German treaty, Miklosko and Carnogursky protested, because when the outstanding claims were calculated the Slovak surplus was added to the Czech deficit in order to reach a balance with the FRG. Now, when—according to our information—negotiations are taking place, we want to know what will happen to the Slovak surplus. At one time the Slovak state had an active balance in relation to Germany, to say nothing of the compensation for war damage. There was a surplus there of roughly 8 billion Swiss francs in Slovakia's favor. This has never been settled anywhere. The Czech side does not even want to acknowledge the gold that Slovakia deposited in the common treasury after 1945. Nothing is said about the money involved in the double devaluation, although we know that Slovakia was overwhelmingly an importer, so we paid for the devaluation. Admittedly, a settlement was reached, but it was concealed in the federal accounts. So, I am asking, why do we have to pay for it a third time?. However, if the Czech side gives ultimatums and states that it does not intend to discuss all of this, then we will not negotiate.

Ministers Discuss Division of Property

AU1105112193 Prague CTK in English 1227 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Bratislava, May 7 (CTK)—The suspension of the process of dividing the former Czechoslovak Interior Ministry is not a consequence of disputes between the Czech and Slovak Interior Ministries, but the division of the former federal property is a global problem, Jan Ruml told CTK today.

Ruml, Czech Interior Minister, met with his Slovak counterpart Jozef Tuchyna at Duchonka near Topolcany, west Slovakia, today.

Tuchyna said the Slovaks accepted the Czechs' political decision to suspend the division of the former federal ministry until the whole issue of federal property division was resolved.

He stressed that 50 percent of the property of the former federal ministry had been divided, the division of archives stock continued, and only a small part of information media and ammunition still remained to be divided.

The two ministers agreed on a joint line to be followed at the European interior ministers' meeting on anti-drug struggle in Rome on May 26.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 May on page 2, in a similar report under the title "Property, Anonyms, Semtex" adds: "According to Minister Tuchyna, the Slovak side still is to assume possession of ammunition and 'data processing technology,' particularly computers. The Slovak interior minister confirmed that the alleged holding back in Bohemia of the Interior Ministry's documentation does not apply for instance to the screening material that the Slovak Information Service already has but rather to material left by the former military intelligence."]

Meciar Announces Agriculture Plans

AU1005122293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 May 93 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts from Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's replies to reporters' questions after his meeting with agricultural experts at Trencianske Teplice on 5 May: "The Question Is Not What We Can Afford, But What We Must Do To Guarantee Minimal Food Self-Sufficiency"—"transcribed by Jana Janku"]

[Text] Trencianske Teplice— Reporters took advantage of Vladimir Meciar's presence at a meeting of agricultural experts on the draft of the agrarian and nutrition policy Wednesday [5 May] evening to discuss this topical issue with the Slovak prime minister. Here are some of his replies:

[Unidentified reporter] The proposed concept has been assessed positively by the attending experts. One question remains unanswered, however: Where to get money for it....

[Meciar] The concept has been approved conditionally because the question of resources really is crucial. The first thing that needs to be considered is the possibility of revitalizing banks in Slovakia and the circulation of money in agriculture. Two possibilities offer themselves. The first is for agriculture to switch to the fund allocation system [fondove hospodarenie]. In addition to the existing market regulation fund, another fund would be established, funded, for example, from privatization proceeds, a part of agricultural subsidies, and the like. The fund would operate only from operating costs, with a low rate of interest, and it would be administered by some bank. The second possibility is to release certain resources by issuing money without the danger of driving up inflation. The commercial banks would, however, have to guarantee the use of this money strictly for the benefit of agriculture.

[Reporter] And what was the reaction of the banks' representatives?

[Meciar] Very hesitant. If farmers received softer credits than others, there would be a danger of money from agriculture flowing into other branches. The fund allocation system therefore seems to be better, even though it would have to make do with more limited resources. The problem of bankruptcies was discussed as well. The across-the-board launching of bankruptcies would depreciate money. If we did not find a solution, the banks, too, would go under. In order to analyze all these connections once again, next week I will convene a consultative meeting of bank representatives and economic ministers where we are going to deal with agriculture as a subsystem.

[Reporter] It was proposed at the meeting that approximately 6.5 billion Slovak korunas might be issued that would be covered by the value of land....

[Meciar] The attending representative of the Slovak National Bank was not able to say how these assets would be covered, what the real market value of land is, and what an impact on inflation this would have. The question remained open.

[Reporter] What steps is the government planning to take for agriculture to get out of the crisis?

[Meciar] We are taking them already. I have agreed with the farmers on a two-stage solution. The first stage, in spring, was to lay the groundwork for the harvest. This has been accomplished, though not everywhere at the required level. The second stage is to secure survival until the new harvest. To do this, use can be made of promissory notes, of which the agricultural enterprises have, thus far, exhausted less than 10 percent, however. At present we are dealing with a system of gradual steps to stabilize agriculture. These steps will be implemented as of the 1993-94 season, with an outlook up to the year 2000. A basic disproportion arises between the purchasing power of the population and food prices. Food that no one buys is useless. On the other hand, the prices of inputs are increasing. This disproportion must be solved by instruments other than making citizens shoulder the burden. Other possibilities offer themselves, such as protection of the domestic market. The state must carefully consider whether it is better to release foreign exchange for food imports or smaller resources to subsidize domestic food production.

[Reporter] What kind of agriculture can we actually afford?

[Meciar] The starting question should not be what we can afford, but what we must do to guarantee minimal food self-sufficiency. We must do this not because we are Slovaks. It may very well happen that some state will limit shipments to Slovakia and an acute shortage of some staple food will arise. If we do not want to have such fluctuations, we must define a certain limit and adjust everything else to it. History has always been accompanied by changes of proprietary relations or in the organization of labor. The question is who will survive. Given the present price level, even private farmers are going to have problems. It is therefore necessary to guarantee minimum prices for certain types of products in order to give the farmers the guarantee that it pays to produce them.

Price Increases in First Quarter Reported

AU1005115293 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 6 May 93 p 1

[Text] Bratislava— On the average, consumer prices rose 10.5 percent in Slovakia in the first quarter of this year, compared with last December. According to an analysis of the development of consumer prices and the cost of living compiled by the Slovak Statistical Office, the monthly increase in prices showed a recent tendency to decline. While prices rose 8.9 percent in January, they rose 1.6 percent in February and only 1 percent in March.

The slowest increase in prices—8.4 percent—was recorded in non-food prices at the beginning of the year. Prices for services, however, rose more sharply at 12.3 percent, and prices for public catering rose 23.3 percent. According to a long-term comparison with January 1989, prices rose 131.6 percent.

In March, consumer prices rose 1 percent. The sharpest rise in prices, 1.5 percent, was recorded in nonfood products in almost all groups. Prices for equipment and goods for households, construction materials, transportation, and sport and culture saw the sharpest increase.

Goncz To Sign Law on Banning Extremist Symbols

AU0805164493 Budapest MTI in English 1432 GMT 4 May 93

[Text] Budapest, 4 May (MTI)—Hungarian President Arpad Goncz decided to sign the law banning the use of extremist symbols, passed by parliament on April 4 and not to turn to the Constitutional Court, said Presidential spokesman Andras Farago on Tuesday [4 May].

The law will take effect when published in the Hungarian Gazette.

Under the law, distributing symbols of authoritarianism, such as the swastika, the SS-badge, the arrow-cross, the hammer and sickle and the five-pointed red star or using them in public are punishable by up to one-year in prison or a fine.

The law exempts use of the symbols for educational, scientific, artistic or historical information purposes and does not apply to official symbols of states.

Goncz Addresses Security Policy Conference

LD0705180493 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 7 (MTI)—Also from the security policy point of view, Hungary has a vested interest in its quickest possible integration into Europe. Until this is reached, it should guarantee its peace with bilateral agreements, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz told representatives of the Federation of Liberal, Democratic and Reform parties of the European Community.

The liberal politicians arrived in Budapest to attend a security policy conference which began today.

Hungary holds the view that security policy should not be limited to military issues, it should rather comprise environmental protection, human rights, minority protection, and economic and social security. The president emphasized Hungary's commitment to intensifying ties with the existing international organizations, for instance the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO and the Western European Union.

Willy de Clercq, president of the federation, said the EC Commission has developed its ideas on the security of Central and Eastern Europe, and the related document was awaiting approval. All this indicates that the EC is by no means indifferent to the security of the region and its integration endeavours.

Jeszenszky Discusses Ukraine, Slovakia, Bosnia

AU1005184593 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 May 93 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Ivan Scipiades; place and date not given: "There Is a Consensus on Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Those who now strongly criticize this government's foreign policy are good-willed people and some of them can be convinced. The Hungarian-Ukrainian treaty will be adopted by Parliament with a majority—Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told us, and he rejected accusations from within the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. He also explains why the Hungarian side let itself be outdistanced in publishing the Antall-Meciar correspondence, concerning the possible participation of Eastern European countries in armed intervention in Bosnia, and whether Budapest is apprehensive about a possible domestic political explosion in Romania.

[Scipiades] So far, foreign policy seemed to be the only issue in which there has been a consensus among the parliamentary parties, and this reflects a national consensus. In your opinion, is this consensus still extant after the parliamentary reaction to the agreement on the Bos issue and particularly after the debate on the ratification of the Hungarian-Ukrainian basic treaty?

[Jeszenszky] I am convinced that this consensus is unchanged. I do not see any basic contradiction of principles. There is a consensus among various parties and within the individual parties regarding the goals; regarding methods, there are always possibilities of differences of views.

[Scipiades] Yes, but hitherto the parliamentary parties seemed satisfied with the government's foreign policy. Today, however, this satisfaction seems to be lacking. You have been accused of lack of expertise and even treason in Parliament.

[Jeszenszky] The Foreign Ministry has received hardly any criticism on the Bos issue, and I think that the appreciative commentaries were justified. There are more than 380 deputies in the Hungarian Parliament. Of this number, an insignificantly small number of deputies have criticized or are expected to criticize the Ukrainian treaty. I am convinced that those who oppose the treaty and those who are now strongly criticizing this government's foreign policy or some of its steps are good-willed people and some can be convinced. The debate has contributed to a better understanding of the essence of the Ukrainian-Hungarian treaty and, therefore, I expect that Parliament will approve this document with a convincing majority, and the public at large will also understand the advantages deriving from this treaty for the ethnic Hungarians in Subcarpathia in particular, but also for those living in other countries. I think I can continue to rely on continued support for this government's foreign policy, not only from the parliamentary deputies but also from the overwhelming majority of the public at large.

[Scipiades] What advantages derive from this treaty?

[Jeszenszky] On the border issue, we did not exceed the articles of the Helsinki Final Act with this treaty, articles that deal with national minority rights in a very modest way, and the concept of autonomy does not even appear in the Final Act. The basic treaty with Ukraine is a

reciprocal treaty, because it improves the situation of the ethnic Hungarians in Ukraine considerably. Our neighbors who very loudly demand additional territorial guarantees from us should read the declaration of the protection of national minorities that is an organic part of the Hungarian-Ukrainian basic treaty. If they start acting in the spirit of this declaration, we will certainly get closer to signing an agreement with them.

[Scipiades] However, according to the domestic opposition, the price to be paid for this is too high, namely the renouncing of any territorial claims.

[Jeszenszky] The treaty only confirmed something that every party has also declared, namely that Hungary has no territorial claims on any of its neighbors. A peaceful modification of borders through mutual understanding is not a realistic goal today. Under such circumstances, territorial claims can only be implemented through force or through the threat of force, something banned by the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, a pact that is still valid today. It is impossible to renounce a nonexistent right. However, by this, we do not renounce the possibility of legal action allowed under international law.

[Scipiades] Those who criticize the treaty with Ukraine do so because they fear that the territorial clause would set a precedent.

[Jeszenszky] The FRG signed a treaty with an identical formula with Poland in 1991 and with the CSFR in 1992, and Poland signed similar treaties with Russia and Ukraine. These are states that did not sign peace treaties with one another after World War II, such as Hungary and Ukraine. All of them have already ratified these agreements, and without any serious domestic political debates.

[Scipiades] What conclusions have you drawn from the fact that the opposition parties supported the Hungarian-Ukrainian basic treaty, and the MDF people or the former MDF independents were the ones who attacked it most?

[Jeszenszky] The Christian Democrats also supported it, and there was no leading speech from the Smallholders (Torgyan is in the opposition), and prominent MDF figures also spoke in favor of the treaty, not only Gyorgy Csoti, who is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and an experienced MDF foreign policy expert, but also Miklos Csapody, who occasionally uses strong formulations and does not always agree with every foreign policy step of the government.

[Scipiades] Do you fear for your job in the wake of the threats against you from within the MDF in connection with the Ukrainian treaty?

[Jeszenszky] I am first of all responsible to my own conscience. One has reason to draw such conclusions if one makes a mistake. However, it would be irresponsible of me to accept criticism for a correct, necessary, and advantageous step.

[Scipiades] Do you think that Hungarian diplomacy could have avoided trouble if you yourself had informed the public about the Antall letter on the Hungarian-Slovak prime ministerial meeting, and thereby anticipated Slovak Prime Minister Meciar?

[Jeszenszky] The preparation of a summit includes the coordination of timetables and locations, and it is not customary to make these things public. Only the unconventional Slovak diplomacy saw fit to publish part of Antall's letter. We think that there is a need for such a meeting, but the most urgent thing is to come to an agreement on the distribution of the Danube waters. It is not the task of the two prime ministers to discuss the technical questions regarding the distribution of water.

[Scipiades] If the United Nations or NATO carries out military intervention in Bosnia, according to U.S. press reports, the United States will also demand participation from Eastern Europe. Which Eastern European countries could be considered here?

[Jeszenszky] There have already been Polish soldiers in Croatia. I can imagine the participation of Czech or Slovak troops, or perhaps Russian troops, in the peacekeeping mission.

[Scipiades] Can you imagine any Hungarian participation too?

[Jeszenszky] We have repeatedly made absolutely clear the special reasons that rule out any Hungarian military presence.

[Scipiades] Do you fear a domestic policy explosion in Romania?

[Jeszenszky] Romania began developing a realistic price system after a great delay. We took such steps long ago. I do not have any information on the ability of the Romanian budget; I think, however, that further sacrifices will be necessary. However, a Hungarian politician or observer cannot say the extent to which these things can be solved. Romania could release resources to fulfill the justified demands of the population, for example by reducing its military, or diplomatic, or foreign affairs expenses, as we did. It is in our interest to have calm and stability in Romania.

Parliament Clashes Over Basic Treaty With Ukraine

LD1005210193 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—MPs [members of parliament] continued their heated debate from one week before over the proposed parliamentary resolution concerning ratification of the Hungarian-Ukrainian basic treaty.

The Monday [10 May] plenary session began in the afternoon, and the discussion in first reading ended late in the evening.

The proposal will be discussed in second reading on Tuesday, and a resolution may also be taken.

* * *

As reported last week, differences focused on Clause 2 of the agreement, which declares that "the sides observe one another's territorial integrity and have no territorial claims, nor will they have in the future, against one another."

* * *

Addressing today's session, Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) MP Izabella B. Kiraly called the problem of central European territorial settlement a world policy question. "The Carpathian basin was created to be a single land," she said, calling for the peaceful reunification of the region regardless of its ethnic mix. "The great powers should understand this," the MP said, calling on parliament not to ratify the agreement if Clause 2 remains.

Arpad Miklos (HDF) felt the document wording was acceptable save the debated article, which he thought implied a unilateral restriction not serving the interests of Subcarpathian Hungarians. "This question could only be discussed if it was put up for a referendum in Subcarpathia under international control."

Socialist Party MP Csaba Tabajdi supported ratification, but proposed the disputed clause should be put more exactly as "the sides do not raise territorial claims against one another." He praised the Hungarian Government's policy to date towards Ukraine and emphasized the importance of the bilateral minority declaration attached to the document.

Sandor Kavassy, an independent representing the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP), said that the ISP stood for a negotiated settlement and peaceful rectification in territorial questions. As Clause 2 of the treaty renders this totally impossible, they reject its ratification.

Jozsef Annus of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) saw it as absurd for members of the largest ruling party, the HDF, to fiercely attack their government on account of the agreement.

Zoltan Kiraly, independent, thought that, albeit in a subdued form, the spirit of irredentism had appeared in parliament during the debate. "Sinful is the policy which tries to cure internal discontent by raising the question of border rectification," he said, adding that any modification of the peace treaty of Paris, which determined Hungary's borders, can only be initiated by the three great powers guaranteeing it, and Russia as the legal successor of the Soviet Union.

Matyas Szuros of the HSP, speaking on his own behalf, stated that under the present circumstances he saw no better option than ratifying the Hungarian-Ukrainian basic treaty. He warned his fellow MPs that they should put aside party interests now that Hungary needs peace, security, and a stable government. Szuros noted that passage of the agreement would offer several opportunities for handling the minority question.

HDF MP Attila Andras Fodor proposed the Hungarian Government send a letter to the Ukrainians asking them to supplement the agreement insofar as it means no renouncement of the rights laid down in the Helsinki Final Act.

Istvan Bethlen (HDF) supported ratifying the agreement, which in his view was the most favourable for Hungary that could be achieved now.

Nandor Roth of the Christian Democratic People's Party voiced reservations over the agreement, and rejected irredentism charges.

MP Jozsef Torgyan, president of the Independent Smallholders' Party, said the debated clause concerning possible territorial claims should be left out of the text of the agreement.

Walesa, Suchocka, Krzaklewski Meet Over Strikes

AU1005111693 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 7—Following talks with Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski over the current wave of strikes, President Lech Walesa declared that many demands of the strikers were justifiable and those agreed on with the government should be implemented.

The president, however, did not approve the methods adopted by the protesters to resolve the disputes. He voiced reservations over the involvement in the strikes of those vocational groups which are responsible for society's health as well as those who are expected to shape civic postures among the young generation, a communique issued by the President's Press Office said.

"One cannot solve difficult problems at once. We must learn to talk and resolve them. Otherwise we shall run into a situation which may be beyond anyone's control," the president warned in conclusion of his meeting with Krzaklewski.

Walesa called for the issues to be resolved seriously and sensibly, in order to avoid a tragedy for the state. "We must negotiate better, and better understand each other, and the state of the country and society."

At the president's initiative, Krzaklewski also met with the prime minister. Hanna Suchocka fully reiterated the government's readiness to solve the problems by means of negotiations, according to the Government Press Office.

"Hanna Suchocka is of the opinion that an urgent analysis should be made of the solutions already adopted and proposed, regarding the restructuring of the Walbrzych region. This should be the subject of joint work of the interministerial team led by Eugeniusz Morawski and representatives of the unions. The prime minister expects such talks to be started as soon as possible," the official communique said.

Once again the government pledged its readiness to conduct talks concerning the problems of the public sector. The premier entrusted the deputy prime minister with the coordination of talks to start next Monday [10 May], the communique added.

Solidarity Breaks Off Talks

LD1005211193 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—The "Solidarity" trade union decided on Monday [10 May] to discontinue talks with the government on the problems of public sector employees in light of the impossibility of implementing the demands forwarded by the union, first and foremost concerning pay raises.

"The matter broke down on the pay issue. The unions expect the government to find 4 billion zlotys for pay rises, which is not in state coffers," Deputy Prime Minister Pawel Laczkowski, representing the government in the talks with the union, told reporters after the talks were cut short.

According to chief of the "Solidarity" trade union, and the union's representative in the talks with the government, Marian Krzaklewski, the union is not making any financial demands that would require an amendment to this year's state budget.

"We have forwarded various alternatives of controlling the distribution of budgetary resources and finding new inflows, for example from the 'grey zone' where taxation is concerned. There are huge possibilities. I am ready to begin talks on the division of this budget immediately. We find it paradoxical that in the light of a 4-5 per cent growth in GNP [gross national product], expenditures on the public sector have decreased by 10-11 per cent," said Krzaklewski.

The "Solidarity" trade union leader also said that he felt betrayed, particularly within the context of the Friday talks with the president and the prime minister, during which he observed "a certain openness towards consensus."

Krzaklewski also announced a special sitting of the "Solidarity" Union National Committee within the next two days which may decide on undertaking activities "stronger than a general strike." Krzaklewski made it understood that this could include directing "Solidarity" parliamentary deputies to vote no-confidence against the government.

Later on Monday, the councils of the secretariats of the "Solidarity" branches for health protection, education, science and culture, announced that strike action would continue in all the union regions. The secretariats called on Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski to call an extraordinary session of the Solidarity National Commission for May 10. They also resolved to expand the union's demands to include a call for legislative initiatives concerning structural changes in education, health care and culture.

The board of Solidarity's Mazowsze region announced on Monday that it had transformed itself into a regional strike committee, in response to "the continuation of economic and social policies leading to the disorganisation of the system of education and health care."

A communique signed by Maciej Jankowski, leader of Solidarity's Mazowsze region, states that government policies have led to "a systematic fall in real wages, the maintenance of high unemployment, the disorganisation of education and healthcare, and the rise of economic and other crime." The union calls for strike action to force changes in policy to fight these phenomena.

SLD Will Not Join Ruling Coalition

LD1005165793 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Gdansk, May 5—The parliamentary floor group of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) will not join the present ruling coalition, SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski told a news conference in Gdansk on Monday [10 May].

"We are not interested in such exotic coalitions as we have now in Poland," he explained and added that at the moment the government was unable to implement any of its proposals without making deals with various parties.

Kwasniewski admitted that the SLD has a programme of an ideologically neutral state protecting the civil and social rights, which is similar to that represented by the Union of Labour (UP), the Democratic Union (UD) and the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD). However, he said, "we will be unable to agree with parties like the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) which have no programme at all," Kwasniewski concluded.

Suchocka Accepts Environmental Minister's Resignation

LD1005170393 Warsaw PAP in English 1621 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Monday [10 May] accepted the resignation of Minister of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry Zygmunt Hortmanowicz but she refused to accept the dismissal of Minister Without Portfolio for Contacts with the Parliament Jerzy Kaminski, the government's press office announced.

Suchocka justified her decision not to dismiss Kaminski with the fact that he has no deputies, while his work has to be continued.

The two ministers, members of the Peasant Agreement (PL), tendered their resignations last week after the withdrawal of their party from the ruling coalition.

Walesa Notes Challenges Facing Military Industry

WS0705095993 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY PREZYDENTA in Polish 1903 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] At the initiative of Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, a conference was organized in the seat of the General Staff of the Polish Army. The subject of the conference was: Prospects of the Arms Industry.

Apart from the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, participating in the meeting were also Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, Deputy Prime Ministers Henryk Goryszewski, the heads of the relevant ministries, deputies, directors of the factories that produce military equipment from all over Poland, as well as representatives of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union NSZZ "Solidarity" of those factories.

In his opening speech to the conference, the president said, among other things: "I realize that there are objective difficulties. I believe, however, that a great deal of them can be overcome. We must act quickly, wisely, and more effectively. We must not wait any longer. According to the security policy and the defense strategy, which were adopted half a year ago, our domestic industry is the basis for equipping the Armed Forces and national security establishments. This also entails the need to restructure our arms industry. The defense doctrine has already been prepared. The Sejm has passed appropriate laws. It is the high time we began implementing them".

The participants in the discussion emphasized the lack of strategic decisionmaking on developing the branches of the military industry. All factories manufacturing weapons or army equipment are facing similar problems. The most important reason for these difficulties is the fact that the former Soviet Union has broken its trade contracts. Another problem is the growing indebtedness of those plants to other branches of industry that cooperate with them in defense production.

It was suggested that these problems should be solved through the decisions of the government. This would be the most important step toward the possibilities of restructuring this industry. They also pointed out that this industry should not be subordinated to as many as five ministries, as is still the case. It was therefore decided that the situation should be changed, because this state of affairs makes it impossible to approach effectively the problem of this branch of industry.

The directors stressed the role of the president in organizing such a conference, which affords the opportunity to present the highest authorities with the problems that they must solve. The problems must be solved not only because of the catastrophic financial condition of the factories, but also because of the situation of the workers, who are threatened with the danger of mass layoffs and consequently, unemployment.

It is possible to improve the status quo. The participants gave the example of the special economic zone, which is being established with the help of Irish consultants in Mielec. We need more decisions like this one. It is necessary, however, to work out a concept according to which some of the factories would start manufacturing things for the civil market, while the most modern and profitable factories would still be catering to the needs of the army. Until this is achieved, the condition of the Polish defense system will systematically deteriorate.

The arms industry must be included in the state's strategic plans. It also requires national decisions. As General Tadeusz Wilecki stressed in his speech, this is because it determines the nation's existence and its sovereignty. Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said that a body will be established to coordinate the activities

related to the arms industry. The group would be chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski. The deputy prime minister said that we must ensure security for the people. He added that production for the army should be based on our own materials, and should take advantage of modern technology.

In his concluding speech, the president said, among other things: "We live in a real world. In this real world, we are witnessing today the strikes of the science, culture, and health care sectors. Tomorrow, the protest may reach the arms industry. Either we are here to govern this country, at least to persuade others that we are right, or we cannot do it. I will help the prime minister to work out a concept, and to find solutions within the government by the end of May. One cannot agree to inaction.

"I believe that when we have the opportunities, we will try to understand the situation. I hope that we will also try to cooperate in performing the tasks which Poland now faces. We will perform them well when we brush our ambitions aside, when we see the problems, and listen to people who are close to them. Let us not take offense. The problems are great, but the opportunities are great, too. Either we will perform our tasks, or we will prove once again that free Poles have not been able to solve their problems. There are not all that many of them. I am convinced that we can do it. that we really cannot do it. [sentence incomplete as received] Thank you."

Estonian President Arrives, Trade Prospects Examined

AU1005150893 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 6 May 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Z.L.: "Before They Build a Motorway"]

[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri arrived in Warsaw on Wednesday evening [5 May] at the start of a two-day official visit, at the invitation of President Walesa.

The Estonian president's program includes talks with President Walesa, Prime Minister Suchocka, and Foreign Minister Skubiszewski. At the end of the official part of the visit, President Meri will visit Gdansk.

Although trade between Poland and Estonia is still small, amounting to only $13 million in 1992, both countries are interested in expanding it rapidly. The two countries have much to offer each other, according to Ireneusz Dworzynski, departmental deputy director in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation.

Poland exports mainly machinery and equipment to Estonia, as well as clothing, footwear, cosmetics, and food, including coffee and tea. In return, we import from Estonia electrical goods, scrap aluminum and titanium, cotton and linen fabrics, pharmaceutical goods, and agricultural produce.

We could sell more goods to Estonia, but the country is in the throes of a deep economic crisis and lacks convertible currency. Polish producers are also faced with competition, because Western producers are offering Estonia higher-quality goods, with more attractive financial terms.

However, this does not mean that Poland is not an attractive partner for Estonia. On the contrary, we are already satisfying Estonian needs. For instance, we are helping in the training of Estonian cadres, the development of maritime transportation, and environmental protection. In future, we may also provide construction and refurbishment services, and build and repair Estonian ships. The joint construction of a motorway linking Poland and Estonia lies in the not too distant future. Estonia wishes to avail itself of Poland's experience, in overcoming the economic crisis and building a new system.

Both sides also perceive the barriers hampering the development of cooperation, but there is a joint desire to overcome them rapidly. For example, the need for an agreement to avoid double taxation is perceived both in Warsaw and in Tallinn, and the creation of a Polish-Estonian bank is also being considered in both cities, as well as the establishment of trade missions in each city to facilitate the transfer of information and permit cooperation to expand.

WEU To Reinforce Embargo on Danube

AU0705143193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1335 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/5/1993—In connection with the negotiations in Rome between the Western European Union (WEU) and Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary aimed at clarifying matters regarding the assistance rendered by WEU for monitoring the enforcement of the embargo [imposed on the Federative Republic of Yugoslavia] on the Danube, Secretary of State Constantin Ene of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the meeting marked a new commitment of Romania in supporting the effort of the international community to enforce the embargo against Yugoslavia, particularly against Bosnian Serbs, as established by the provisions of the UN Security Council resolutions.

The decision was made to have five ships deployed in the Danube zone of Calafat-Vidin, supposed to assist both the Romanian and the Bulgarian authorities. Some of the five ships will sail down to Galati.

Secretary of State Ene specified that the ships were not military, but staffed with specialized personnel and that, as settled by the Security Council, the Danube countries continued to bear the responsibility for the entire control operations.

UN Sanctions Said To Cost Country $8 Billion

AU0705105493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0909 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/5/1993—"Romania is a stable zone with a growing importance", shows Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, in an interview granted to the daily REALITATEA ROMANEASCA. "The Danube is representing a major gift for Romania, but also a source for complications in the context of the embargo against Yugoslavia. It is obvious that we have to observe the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against Yugoslavia, but they seem to be sanctions against Romania too. They are costing us almost eight billion dollars. If we are adding the three billion dollars lost due to the embargo against Iraq, one can notice that we are paying much more than others do. And all these in the conditions of a huge need of money and of the specific potential operations. As for the Yugoslav crisis, it has entered a critical stage. No matter how longer the conflict will take, we are still going to be a neighboring country of Serbia and Yugoslavia or whatever its future name", said the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. In the opinion of Adrian Nastase, "while observing international sanctions, we have to take into consideration also our own long-term interests and to officially state that we would not involve by any means and under no circumstances in a military conflict, offering our contribution to a peaceful solution, maybe we should be more active in this direction, for we have won our credibility on both parts."

Nastase Views Advantages of Black Sea Grouping

AU1005181093 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 6 May 93, p 3

[Part one of interview with Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies, by Dorin Stanciu; place and date not given: "About Romania and the Yugoslav Crisis One Can Say the Same Thing as in the Arab-Israeli Wars: We Will Fight to the Last Egyptian"]

[Text] [Stanciu] The Black Sea area is much too little known and superficially assessed by public opinion. You are the most suitable person to speak about this.

[Nastase] The Black Sea area is a geographical reality and within the context of political interests it also constitutes a geopolitical problem. Thus the Black Sea area is surrounded by a number of very different countries, each with its own potential but also with its own frustrations. From an objective viewpoint, those located around such a basin have obvious interests that I hardly need mention: Environment protection, transportation, and tourism. This zone, however, also has a number of resources, a labor force, marketing potential, and even financial resources. There are a few countries that have launched this project, primarily Turkey for very obvious reasons—knowing full well that its road to the Common Market will be blocked for a rather long time, especially by Greece, but also by the fact that Turkey belongs to the European zone only to a certain extent. Then there are the religious aspects which, even if not explicitly acknowledged in the West, lead to some reticence about accepting Turkey into the Common Market. For this reason, another area of action has to be sought, because it is one of the few countries that has developed over the past 10-12 years. The Turgut Ozal period was an extraordinary period of growth in which Turkey accumulated capital. In addition, this zone includes the extraordinary potential of Russia, the resources of Ukraine, and the technological capital and imagination of Greece. There are also other countries in this group which can combine complementary factors. Things may progress faster or more slowly depending on interests and suspicions, but the issue is important for us.

[Stanciu] At one point the question was posed as to whether this trend toward an area, which is by no means a Western one, will not raise the question about our basic options?

[Nastase] The answer is very easy. One can be member of several clubs, but you decide on how to spend the evening. In our case, the bad thing is that lately we were not members of any club. Now we are in the process of becoming one and—in my view—our foreign policy has to look toward all horizons. The only thing we have to pursue is our national interests. Geopolicy means bearing in mind the geographical realities and we will not be able to change Romania's geographical location, no matter what action we take. Here we are located, next to the Yugoslav crisis, next to the former Soviet Union, and next to the Black Sea. Thus, we can be members of this

"club." Maybe it would be more interesting to be members of a Pacific association, but that is not possible. And therefore we have to capitalize on all our geographical advantages. One of them is the Black Sea which enables us to communicate with countries in this area. There are, however, other opportunities as well. You have mentioned the Danube, which has become important since the Rhine-Main Canal opened. This is another opportunity to become politically active. And there are other possibilities. Our association accord with the EC came into force on 1 May. Similarly, the accord with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] is going to come into force.

[Stanciu] Our association with the Black Sea area has lent us particular importance within NATO...

[Nastase] Things are connected. If, on the one hand, Turkey is slightly uncomfortable for the Common Market owing to the factors I have already mentioned and others I have not mentioned, on the other hand it represents an extremely important factor for NATO from the strategic point of view. Thus, our association with the Black Sea area increases the degree of interest in Romania. It depends on us as to how we will capitalize on this advantage nature has offered us.

Iliescu, Shushkevich Sign Friendship Treaty

AU0705201093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] The official documents between Romania and the Republic of Belarus were signed at Cotroceni Palace today. They include the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Two Countries, the Consular Convention Between Romania and the Republic of Belarus, and the Accord on Cooperation in the Area of Science, Education, Culture, Information, Health, Sports, and Tourism between the governments of the two states, our editor Gabriel Benescu informed us.

The Treaty of Friendship was signed by Presidents Ion Iliescu and Stanislav Shushkevich.

After the document-signing ceremony, Romanian President Ion Iliescu made a speech during which he emphasized the importance of signing these bilateral documents, a fact that marked an important step forward in the process of giving material shape to the common desire of developing relations and cooperation between the two states within the context of democratic changes in our countries and developments on the European continent in the past years.

President Iliescu also specified that other understandings, especially in the economic area, will be negotiated and signed this year.

In turn, the president of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, Mr. Stanislav Shushkevich, termed the results of the summit contacts as special and invited Romania's president to visit the Republic of Belarus to develop cooperation between our countries, both in the economic and political areas.

Mr. Stanislav Shushkevich also said, quote: I am convinced that the documents we have signed and those that are being prepared will simplify mutual contacts and will contribute to the development of relations between our states and to seeking new forms of cooperation, unquote.

Government Recognizes Eritrean Independence

AU0805174493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] A press communique received by fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stresses that the ministry is authorized to declare the following:

Romania's Government took note with satisfaction of the result of the 23-25 April 1993 referendum in which the Eritrean people spoke out for Eritrea's state independence. In the spirit of its principled policy of observing the right of peoples to self-determination, Romania's Government decided to recognize Eritrea as an independent state.

Romania's Government expresses the desire to establish diplomatic relations with Eritrea and develop relations of cooperation in all spheres of mutual interest.

Serb-Muslim Cease-Fire Reportedly Holding

Belgrade Report

AU1005154093

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 10 May within its regular 30-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the wake of the latest truce.

A studio announcer says that "the truce on the Bosnia-Herzegovina front is mostly being observed, but there was fighting in some areas."

Zoran Grgurovic reports that although in the Doboj Operation Zone, "the army of the Serbian republic showed patience and strictly observed the truce, the enemy was constantly trying to provoke clashes. Clashes broke out only on the Maglaj front where a subversive terrorist group was crushed this morning." Grgurovic also says that in the Bosna River valley, the Maglaj front—the villages of Pridjel, Trbuh, Jabucic Polje, Jablanica, Strijezevica, and Krsno Polje—is being attacked by enemy Muslim artillery and snipers.

Vlado Trisic, reporting on truce violations in the Majevica and Semberija regions, says that "at about 1020 [0820 GMT], fiercer infantry provocations began from the direction of Celic on Serbian positions in Brusnica and from Brnjik against Lukavica."

Jelena Dabarcic reports from Herzegovina that "the truce agreed between the Serbian and Muslim sides that came into force yesterday is mostly being observed, albeit not completely. After the agreed cease-fire, Muslim forces from the Konjic region violated the truce on three occasions using infantry and antiaircraft weapons and mortars against the region of Bijela and Borak in the Konjic Commune." Dabarcic adds that, "as the Serbian army command in Herzegovina reports, Serbian fighters are strictly observing the cease-fire order and did not respond to these provocations as their lives and positions they are holding were not threatened."

Risto Djogo reports from Sarajevo that the truce is mostly being observed there and the studio announcer cites Serbian military sources as saying that there has not even been any sporadic shooting in the Zvornik region since the truce came in force.

Sarajevo Report

AU1105090193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 11 May reports only minor breaches of the cease-fire on the battlefields:

A report by the Gradacac War Presidency says that "three transport aircraft" were noticed in the region of Pelagicevo between 2010 GMT and 2040 GMT last night. As it is further reported, "some 40 vehicles" were observed to be moving along the Tramosnica-Turic road last night. The "cease-fire was mostly observed yesterday by both sides," the report says, noting only minor small arms provocations. It is also reported that the "night was completely quiet."

A report by the information service of the Third Operative Group of the Second Crops reports that "last night was surprising peaceful," although at the same time it expresses doubt "as to how long all this will last." The report states that "the Chetniks opened fire from antiaircraft weapons and small arms on several occasions" yesterday, while "the Chetnik artillery was quiet."

From Olovo correspondent Velid Djindo reports that "the aggressor on several occasions yesterday ruthlessly violated the latest cease-fire." He reports attacks by mortars and tanks firing at "civilian targets and the positions of the fighters of our army." "The morning in Olovo is peaceful," Djindo adds, "while the lines of defense are stable."

"The cease-fire is mostly observed on Maglaj battlefield," says a report by the press center of the Maglaj War Presidency, accounting for some "Chetnik small arms provocations, especially during the night." The report states that "our fighters are complying with the agreement signed and are not responding to these provocations."

Serbs Use 'Threats' To Force Muslims To Vote in Referendum

AU1005193193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 May 93

[The Brcko Press Center report]

[Text] As we have discovered from our fellow citizens who reached the free Brcko territory following an exchange on 8 May, the Chetnik authorities in Brcko are using threats and force to make ethnic Muslim citizens participate in the referendum [on 15 and 16 May]. This not only indicates that the outcome of the Chetnik referendum is already known, but also that the enemy is trying to fool the international community into thinking that they have the support of the Muslim people for the result of the referendum on the occupied territories. This is Halid Deronjic and Nihad Salihovic reporting for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina from the free territory of Brcko.

Bosnian Serbs Invite Observers to Referendum

LD1005165193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 10 May 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] today invited foreign observers to a referendum in which people should vote on the unmodified maps proposed by the Vance-Owen plan for former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The invitation, made available to

TANJUG, has been sent to the Belgrade-based embassies of the UN member states.

"In order to prevent any possible complaints concerning manipulation of any kind, we are inviting you to send your observers. Our ministry is at your disposal regarding the organization of the arrival of your observers," the invitation reads.

The referendum, called for by the People's Assembly of the Serb republic, is scheduled for 15 and 16 May. At yesterday's extraordinary meeting of the Assembly it was decided that two questions should appear on the ballot paper. [passage omitted]

Parliament To Hold 'Partial' Session on Peace Plan

AU1005194593 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Zenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 10 (AFP)—The parliament of the Moslem-led Bosnian Government will hold a partial session here Tuesday [11 May] as a step towards formal ratification of an international peace plan for the former Yugoslav Republic.

About 40 to 50 members of the parliament, which had 200 legislators before the war, are expected to attend the one-day session, mostly from around this central Bosnian town but also from Tuzla, Banja Luka, Travnik and Mostar, organisers said.

The only item on the agenda will be the peace plan crafted by U.N. and European Community mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen to end the 13-month-old war.

Haracic Sulejman, president of the Zenica district executive council, said the gathering was expected to vote to formally ratify the plan, which would divide Bosnia into 10 largely autonomous provinces along ethnic lines.

Other partial sessions of parliament will be held in the capital Sarajevo, Mostar in the south, and Bihac in the northwest, to complete the ratification process, he said.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic signed the Vance-Owen plan in March, two months after the Croats agreed to the settlement.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic finally signed on early this month but his self-styled parliament rejected the plan and voted to put it to a referendum of their people.

The parliament of the Sarajevo government comprised some 200 legislators before the war and has about 150 left, not counting the Serbian party contingent.

But the logistical problems of wartime travel have made it impossible for the legislature to meet as a single body so they are holding separate sessions in various parts of the country.

Sulejman said the move to submit the Vance-Owen plan for ratification was more a legal formality than a political ploy to put added pressure on the Serbs to sign.

Izetbegovic was not due to attend the parliamentary gathering in Zenica but Vice President Ejup Ganic was expected to take part.

Montenegro Turns Back Bosnian Serb Leader at Border

LD1105124293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] Bileca, 11 May (TANJUG)—Last night, Montenegrin customs officials and policemen at the Vilusi border crossing turned back the president of the Trebinje municipality, Bozidar Vucurovic [Serb leader in Herzegovina], and refused to allow him to enter Montenegro.

According to Vucurovic, he was on an official trip to Belgrade. During a routine check at the Vilusi border crossing, he was told that he must go back to Trebinje because he was on a list of persons banned from entering the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"At the border crossing, I was told that no Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] politician will be allowed either to enter and stay or to travel through the territory of Yugoslavia. I was told that I was on the list of persons banned from entering Yugoslavia and that the final list of [Bosnian Serb] deputies has not been completed," Vucurovic said.

Croat Leader Says Life With Muslims 'Impossible'

LD1005230493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2245 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—Co-existence with Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina is impossible, Vice-President of the Bosnian Croat Community Herceg-Bosna Darko Kordic said on Monday. "Life with Moslems is absolutely impossible, after hundreds of dead, wounded and missing people," Kordic said in an interview to the Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST, as carried by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA.

Fighting between Bosnian Croats and Moslems, formal allies against local Serbs, erupted over three months ago but escalated in the past few weeks in central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina—the regions with the mixed Croat-Moslem population. The latest fighting with street clashes began on Sunday morning in Mostar, Herceg-Bosna's centre.

Kordic said the Moslem aggression on Croats in central Bosnia resulted from their insincerity and fake acceptance of the Vance-Owen peace plan. He said the Moslems thwarted all the agreements so far and did not intend to accept this plan either.

Bosnian Croats and Moslems have signed the Vance-Owen plan, and Bosnian Serbs are to vote on the document in a referendum on May 15 and 16. The Croat-Moslem fighting for domination over the mixed regions renewed immediately after the signing of the plan.

Karadzic Says Closed Border Will Be Obeyed

LD1005190993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1733 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic (in Bosnia-Herzegovina), confirmed in a statement given to Politika Radio today that the border between the FRY and the Serb republic was closed yesterday.

Karadzic said: "Quite frankly, we should not comment on this. It was probably for state reasons that the leadership of Yugoslavia or Serbia acted like this, that is obviously the leadership of Yugoslavia, since Montenegro was also affected by the measure."

The Serb republic president said: "We have nothing to say on this matter. We might regret it and we might feel sad about it all, but we have no right to object to it."

Asked who had taken the measure Karadzic replied: "If not the Federal Government, then both republican ones (Serbian and Montenegrin) have taken it. Because such a ban is also in force in Montenegro. So, it was either a synchronized measure by the republican organs, or a concerted measure by the federal organs. Basically it does not make any difference. We will obey it, whether the decision was made by the republics or the federal government."

"It is a unilateral decision. We will not introduce similar measures on our side. Therefore, anyone can come to us, whoever wants to," Karadzic said, in reply to a question on how the situation can be overcome.

Asked about the unification of the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), Karadzic replied: "We should not hurry with the unification. It is important that we are essentially linked and that there are no restrictions on our borders, that we can cooperate and defend each other."

He explained that the unification itself is a delicate matter, because of the Vance plan which protects the Serbs in former Croatia. "We do not want to compromise the plan, since it is in a way a protective umbrella for the Serbs in the RSK, and so that the Security Council is able to respond with warnings or resolutions to each Croatian aggression—demanding that Croatia retreat," Karadzic said.

However, nothing would be more natural than the Serbs from the Serb republic and from the RSK uniting, exercising their right to self-determination, he stressed.

Karadzic: Serbs Will Not Let Themselves Be Divided

LD1005181793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1702 GMT 10 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, May 10 (TANJUG)—Serbs will not let themselves be divided, leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic has told TANJUG.

"Neither the most responsible officials, nor the people, as a whole," want the division, Karadzic told TANJUG correspondent in Zvornik Vladimir Elez on Sunday night.

Karadzic said it was thanks to the unity of the Serbian people that Serbs had been able to avoid genocide.

The Karadzic statement followed the failure of the Bosnian Serb Parliament to endorse the Vance-Owen plan for ending the ethnic war between Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Moslems, despite calls to do so from the president of Yugoslavia and the presidents of the two Yugoslav Republics—Serbia and Montenegro.

Although twice urged by Yugoslavia and Serbia to sign the plan drawn up by the co-chairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, the Bosnian Serb Parliament both times decided to have the final decision taken in a referendum next weekend.

Karadzic expressed understanding for the stand held by Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, but reiterated that the Vance-Owen plan was far from perfect from the viewpoint of Bosnian Serbs. Karadzic said the plan's biggest flaw was that, according to the proposed division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous provinces, Serb provinces were to be without mutual territorial links.

Karadzic said a half of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina "would live under Moslem or Croat rule and the other half in enclaves similar to Nagorno-Karabakh," which he said "would be a genuine bomb, one much worse than those which could possibly be dropped from the sky."

Asked what he thought about the final outcome of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said he was basically a "big optimist" although he believed there was a "very, very high risk of bombing."

The Bosnian Serb leader said his optimism was due to the fact that the people were united, its aspirations were legitimate and "all Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," both those living in their own, Serb republic and those in the Moslem-controlled towns, were "strongly convinced" that they "must pursue their course and achieve their goal."

"The course sometimes goes around a hill, sometimes zig-zag, but does not change the basic direction, which is the preservation of the Serbian identity, personality and sovereignty in the area," Karadzic said.

French UNPROFOR Reinforcements Arrive in Sarajevo

AU1105110893 Paris AFP in English 1053 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] Paris, May 11 (AFP)—A company of 140 French paratroopers and a number of armoured cars have arrived in Sarajevo to reinforce the French U.N. presence in the Bosnian-Herzegovina capital, the defence ministry announced Tuesday.

The ministry said the reinforcements were required because of the wide range of duties that French troops were carrying out in Sarajevo, such as the guarding the airport and delivering aid.

The French U.N. contingent in the Bosnian capital now totals some 800 soldiers and 72 armoured cars. France has about 5,000 troops serving in the U.N. forces in former Yugoslavia, the biggest contribution from any one state.

Democratic Action Party Condemns HVO, Herzeg-Bosna Croats

LD1005211793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] [Words indistinct] Party of Democratic Action has issued a statement following the latest confrontations between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], saying inter alia:

The latest confrontations in Herzegovina remove any doubt over whether the HVO is an ally or a destroyer of the sovereign and integral republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although a number of agreements have been signed thus far on cooperation and an immediate end to increasingly frequent confrontations, peace has not been achieved. Leaders of the HVO and the so-called Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosna, with increasingly open support and military help from the Republic of Croatia, seem not to care about the agreements reached but continue to cause confrontations between the Croatian and Muslim people. Their latest moves also indicate that their aim is not to live together with us in our common homeland, but to tear and break friendship and togetherness built through centuries by our two peoples. The experience of Gorazde, Srebrenica, Vitez, Zenica, Sarajevo, and Mostar suffice—we have had enough of nominal support and alliance. We need a true hand of friendship extended—if it is not there we at least know where we stand.

Cease-Fire Agreement Reached Between Izetbegovic, Boban

AU1005182493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] After reaching an agreement by telephone with Mate Boban on ceasing hostilities between the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, issued the following order, which we carry in full.

First, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units will cease fire in all the clashes with the HVO units at 1800 [1600 GMT] on 10 May 1993. According to the agreement, the HVO units will cease fire at the same time. They will receive prompt orders to that effect from their headquarters.

Second, Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and Milivoj Petkovic, commander of the HVO headquarters, will meet immediately to work out details connected to implementing this order, and the normalization of the relations between the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO.

Third, the UNPROFOR Command for Bosnia-Herzegovina will be asked to make its good services available for the organization of [words indistinct].

Signed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Cease-Fire in Southern Bosnia

AU1005154793 Paris AFP in English 1537 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Zagreb, May 10 (AFP)—Bosnia's Moslem President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban agreed to a ceasefire Monday [10 May] in fighting between their forces in southern Bosnia, U.N. officials said here.

The ceasefire was due to come into effect at 6:00 P.M. (1600 GMT), the Zagreb office of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said.

The agreement came amid fierce fighting between the two nominal allies in Mostar, where U.N. peacekeepers accused Croat forces of forcing hundreds of Moslem civilians to flee their homes.

Earlier Monday Croatian President Franjo Tudjman strongly condemned the fighting and called on the warring parties to respect "immediately" an earlier ceasefire agreed between Izetbegovic and Boban on April 25.

General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the UNPROFOR commander, blamed the Bosnian Croatian militia for starting the Mostar battle on Sunday [9 May] and called on the Zagreb government to intervene "actively and urgently" to end the conflict.

Failed Croatian, Muslim Cease-Fire

Muslim Attacks on Mostar

LD1105120893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] We have just received a report from Mostar. Shortly before 1300 [1100 GMT], members of Muslim

units launched a mortar attack on the HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] headquarters building. One HVO soldier was wounded, and in their first reaction, HVO officers said that this incident shows that Muslim forces do not care about last night's cease-fire agreement and that the Muslims have decided to continue the war.

Croats Continuing Attack

AU1105120993 Paris AFP in English 1150 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] Zenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 11 (AFP)—Croat forces renewed Tuesday their fierce attacks on Moslems in the southern city of Mostar a day after a new ceasefire was announced, the military commander of the Moslem-led government said.

General Sefer Halilovic said that the Croats were continuing to massacre civilians in a campaign of "genocide" in the strategic city which they attacked on Sunday.

Halilovic told AFP in this mostly Moslem town in central Bosnia that the night was calm in Mostar after the announcement of the latest ceasefire between the nominal allies on Monday.

"But from the very early morning, the HVO (Croat) army continued their aggression and they are attacking with quite strong forces," Halilovic said.

"Their only aim is ethnic cleansing and that is something which is quite unacceptable," said the general who was due to meet later Tuesday with his Croat counterpart General Milivoj Petkovic.

The Croats have been pushing to chase Moslems from the northern half of an area in south-central Bosnia that would be Croat-controlled under an international peace plan.

Halilovic said the situation in Mostar was "a massacre or even genocide" with civilians being killed or taken away from their flats. "One part of these people are taken to a football stadium in Mostar and the others to an unknown location," he said. "There is artillery shooting all over Mostar on civilian targets."

He reiterated allegations that special army units from Croatia were involved in the Mostar fighting and that a Croat plane bombed the town of Konjic to the north.

Halilovic was to meet with Petkovic and European Community monitors at the Bosnian headquarters of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the town of Kiseljak south of here. He said the first thing to be discussed would be the ceasefire and the possibility of E.C. monitors entering Mostar.

Meanwhile, about 40 members of the Bosnian parliament met in Zenica on Tuesday and were expected to voice their support for the peace plan crafted by U.N. and E.C. mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. Similar meetings of others members of parliament were expected to be held Tuesday in the capital Sarajevo, the northwestern town of Bihac and Mostar if possible.

Muslims Accuse Croats of Fabricating Reports

LD1005221593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 May 93

[Excerpt] The press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has denied a report broadcast by Croatian television.

During peak viewing time on 8 and 9 May 1993, Croatian television broadcast a report by Smiljko Sagolj, which featured allegedly Croatian homes in the village of Kostajnica in Konjic Municipality. As this report has also been carried by Bosnia-Herzegovina television, we want to point out that the report showed homes in the village of Glodnica, in Jablanica Municipality, which is populated solely by those Muslims who were driven out of their homes by Croatian Defense Council fighters during an all-out attack on Konjic and Jablanica. The house featured in the report belongs to car electrician Naim Memic.

This is yet another peace of misinformation carried by the media of the so-called Herzeg-Bosna and its patrons in Croatia in order to find an excuse in the eyes of their own people for suffering casualties in this aggression, as well as to stir up the Croatian people's national passions. [passage omitted]

HVO Continues Shelling, Evicting Muslims

AU1005191393

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 10 May carries in its regular 40-minute newscast two reports on the continuing fighting between units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in Mostar and Jablanica.

The Mostar Press Center reports that "HVO artillery is firing at the building where wounded soldiers and civilians are housed on the left bank of the Neretva River. The HVO leaders know very well that the building of the Institute of Hygiene has been converted into an improvised hospital, since all the city hospitals are under HVO control. Between 1500 [1300 GMT] to 1700 alone, 60 mortar and tank shells landed on the city." The report says that "we have information that the eviction of Muslims is continuing in all parts of the city that are under the HVO control. Nothing is known of the fate of the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action, the Islamic Community, the mufti of Herzegovina and many other Muslim intellectuals who are not among those evicted Muslim citizens who have thus far reached the left bank of the river, which is controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. By the way, the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army and forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are still in control of a significant part of Mostar on the right bank of the Neretva River, but the attacks by the HVO and the Croatian Army are becoming heavier and more

massive. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Fourth Corps Command is calling on all able-bodied citizens to join in the defense of the city, the free Mostar in the independent and sovereign republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

An unidentified correspondent reports from Jablanica that "the aggressor forces of the Croatian Army and the HVO units from the hills around Jablanica sporadically shelled Muslim villages and the defensive positions until 1545. They used mortars of all calibers, heavy howitzers, and multiple rocket launchers to pound Muslim villages on the right side of the Jablanica Lake [words indistinct]. The worst situation was in Ostrozac. They fired all their artillery at the center of the town, killing five civilians, two of whom were children."

Muslim Stronghold Taken

LD1005161393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 10 May 93

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to the latest statement by the Southeast herzegovina Operational Command [of the Croatian forces], Croatian Defense Force [HVO] units have taken a Muslim stronghold on the right bank of the River Neretva, where the command of the Herzegovina Muslim forces was located. Their headquarters was at the residential building Vranica, from where their actions were managed. Its cellars were used to hold a large number of civilian hostages by the members of the Muslim forces.

HVO officers received messages from the detained civilians saying that the Muslim soldiers were going to release them and that fire should not be opened. However, among the first group of about 200 released civilians were also a number of Muslim soldiers disguised as civilians; however, they were recognized. According to the statement, the majority of those released were Muslims from Nevesinje and Podvelezje, and they were being treated in compliance with international regulations for prisoners of war.

In addition to this statement, the Southeast Herzegovina Regional Command later said that Zijah Demirovic, president of the Party of Democratic Action for Herzegovina and ideologist of the Muslim movement in Herzegovina, was among the detained. It is not known yet whether there were casualties among the civilians detained yesterday.

A real street war is being waged in Mostar, in which HVO units are taking building by building. Ivo Vuksic,a local cathedral priest, and three medical officers who were caught yesterday, are still being held by the Muslims. There are no new official casualty reports. It is assumed that over 10 HVO members have been killed in the fighting so far, and about 40 soldiers and civilians injured. [passage omitted]

Croats Deny Initiating Attacks on Mostar

LD1105004093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Regarding a statement by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for the area of the former Yugoslavia, General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, alleging that forces of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] first launched attacks in Mostar, the command of the southeastern Herzegovina HVO operational zone has sent a letter to Gen. Wahlgren stressing that the HVO formations reacted to attacks launched by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army with the sole aim of defending the town and its population. This was announced by the Information Department of the Croat community of Herzeg-Bosna.

Some reports by certain individual foreign agencies of the alleged arrest of as many as 1,000 Muslim civilians in Mostar, citing Sarajevo's Muslim radio as the source of these reports, are prejudiced and untrue. They are part of a broader context of shifting the blame for the clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the side of the Croat armed forces, a representative of the command of the southeastern Herzegovina HVO operational zone said in Mostar tonight.

This is a matter of individuals who, following the beginning of the current clashes, had partly heeded the civilian authorities' call asking them to come under the HVO's protection or to hand in the arms at their disposal. Among these individuals are a certain number of citizens who were found with no documents whatever and could not confirm that Mostar was their place of residence. The HVO also regards as totally untrue the allegations being made by the foreign agencies—as they cite Sarajevo's Muslim radio—that the medical personnel of Mostar's War Hospital are not treating the Muslim wounded.

HVO Claims Muslims Massacring Konjic Civilians

LD1005140393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] The command of the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] operational zone states that it received a dramatic report from civilians in Konjic saying that Muslim forces and mojahedin reinforcements are massacring civilians—Croat women and children—in response to the unsuccessful Muslim offensive launched in Mostar yesterday themselves.

The command of the HVO's operational zone has issued a dramatic appeal to the international community to end this massacre.

Srebrenica Muslims' Failure To Demilitarize Protested

LD1005185493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the main headquarters of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], lodged a protest with the UN Protection Force command today because the command has not fulfilled its obligations assumed in the 8 May agreement on the demilitarization of Srebrenica.

Mladic states in a letter to General Wahlgren, which was also sent to the media, that by the deadline which expired at 1700 today, the Muslim side had handed over only a small amount of arms, namely about 100 firearms, two tanks, one howitzer, three machineguns, 500 items of ammunition, two guns, and one hand-held rocket launcher.

"Asked by my officers what happened to the rest of the weapons and military equipment, a local Muslim commander said that about 2,000 of his people had refused to hand over their weapons," Mladic says in his letter to Wahlgren.

According to him, this is "a clear proof of the lack of effectiveness of your forces in this operation, and the obvious denial of your statement of 24 April that Srebrenica had handed over arms in line with the original agreement (of 20 April)," General Mladic added.

"We expect that you will display more perseverance and disarm the Muslims in Srebrenica and Zepa effectively and fully," he stressed.

The commander of the Serb republic army also warned Wahlgren that he "will be forced to take additional measures if the Muslims continue breaching the agreement on the demilitarization of Srebrenica and Zepa, and on the cessation of hostilities in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where our and their forces are in conflict."

Muslims Accused of 'Flouting' Accords

LD1005161193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Pale, May 10 (TANJUG)—Muslim forces are using false reports and manipulations in an effort to flout the ceasefire agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina and accords on the demilitarization of Srebrenica and Zepa, the general staff of the army of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (VRS) said on Monday.

The military commanders of Bosnian Serbs and Muslims on Saturday signed an accord which is to enable the implementation of the U.N. Security Council decisions to proclaim Srebrenica and Zepa, Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, safe areas. The ceasefire agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed by Bosnian Muslims and Serbs, went into effect on Sunday.

The VRS said the commander of Muslim forces in Srebrenica Naser Oric had been told that he "must not hand over to the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) a single bullet or good part of a weapon" and instructed that "all the light and heavy armament and ammunition be evacuated from the demilitarized area."

The VRS communique said Commander Oric had been ordered to prepare his unit and command for "marches in regions of their choice and directions they, themselves, choose."

The VRS said the Muslim command in Gorazde, a town in south-eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina which has also been proclaimed a safe area by the U.N., had ordered its unit in Zepa to move the bulk of the troops and munitions to the area of Medjedje and that the "forces which remain in Zepa hide the weapons and ammunition."

The communique said the Muslim command in Zepa had been ordered to pick out defective weapons, ammunition, mines and explosives and hand them over to UNPROFOR.

The VRS general staff said the Muslim command had been ordered to continue issuing "alarming communiques about a very difficult situation, a large number of killed and wounded and a very large number of refugees" and to do so in the "same way it was done before but not use the same figures so as to avoid a scandal."

The VRS communique said the Muslim command in Zepa had been told to say that it "buried the dead in forests and places where they were killed in order to cover up earlier reports."

REUTER on Monday said Zepa was virtually deserted after several thousand people fled to the surrounding villages. REUTER quoted a U.N. representative in Sarajevo as saying only fifty or so people were left in Zepa.

Tuzla Croat-Muslim Meeting Demands End to Clashes

LD1005171193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] A joint meeting between representatives of local authorities and political parties was held in Tuzla last night. Attending were representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community, the Party of Democratic Action, the Islamic religious community and the Catholic church, and representatives of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian community of (Soli) of Tuzla, as well as members of the 2d Corps command.

The reason for convening the meeting between all the military and political representatives of the Croatian and Muslim nations of northeast Bosnia lay in events in Herzegovina and central Bosnia.

The following conclusions were reached on this occasion: The clashes in Herzegovina and central Bosnia must cease immediately and unconditionally, that is, the

killing of the Muslim and Croat population must be stopped; all civilian and military prisoners must be unconditionally released in line with the all-for-all principle, and their return home must be ensured; all roads must be opened immediately for the unhindered flow of all people and goods; and prisoners who did not take part in or instigate clashes must be released first.

These demands were forwarded to Alija Izetbegovic, Mate Boban, Mirsad Ceman, Sefer Halilovic, and Milivoj Petkovic.

Zepa Residents Start Returning; Aid Convoy Due

AU1105112893 Paris AFP in English 1114 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] Sarajevo, May 11 (AFP)—Encouraged by the arrival of U.N. military observers on Sunday, residents of the besieged Moslem enclave of Zepa have started returning from the mountains where they fled under Serb shelling, U.N. forces spokesmen said Tuesday.

Accompanied by a medical team and a group of French army sappers, the Ukrainian company of the U.N. Protection Force has started handing out food against ration tickets.

An aid convoy was due later Tuesday in Zepa where the U.N. soldiers on Sunday found only about 50 people in the streets of the tiny town and said nearly all the local dwellings had been destroyed by Serb shelling.

A spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said Tuesday that armed "drunken Serb soldiers" had blocked envoys from his office from entering Zepa the day before to organize the arrival of humanitarian aid.

John McMillan, UNHCR representative in Sarajevo, said UNHCR envoy Larry Hollingworth was held by the soldiers for four to five hours on Monday in Rogatica, 35 kilometers (21 miles) from Zepa, then "forced to leave at gun point".

Both McMillan and Hollingworth, back in Sarajevo, speculated that the Serbs hoped by blocking humanitarian aid they could head off any return home by Zepa residents who fled fighting last week.

UNPROFOR spokesman Major Michel Marvie meanwhile said the evacuation of wounded by helicopter from Zepa should start on Wednesday.

U.N. military observers have said 30 seriously wounded people will be given priority, followed by 200 others with less serious injuries.

Four French Puma helicopters and two British Sea Kings will evacuate the injured in an operation that could run through Friday, the spokesman said.

Before the war, Zepa had a population of 5,000, which swelled to some 25,000 to 35,000 refugees who sought shelter in the 30 or so hamlets scattered along the narrow valley.

Local residents told the U.N. soldiers that their sole supplies for several weeks had come from emergency aid parcels from the U.S.-led airdrop over the besieged area, an UNPROFOR spokesman said.

The Ukrainian soldiers found some people wearing clothing they had made out of the parachutes.

Commentator Assesses Peace Plan Effects

AU1105105493 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7-13 May 93 p 5

[Commentary by Drazena Peranic: "Between the Power and the People"]

[Text] The signing of the Athens peace plan by Radovan Karadzic, regardless of what the "Pale assembly" concludes, is actually a legalized beginning to the creation of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina as conceived by Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, primarily in order to establish peace. However, the co-chairmen of the eight-month peace negotiations did not, in their documents concerning the restoring of peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina, clearly specify the way in which the candidates for the transitional Presidency and Government will be selected. Remaining on the level of peace mediators, Vance and Owen added to the documents only the three-plus-three formula, allowing themselves some kind of supervision over the work of such a presidency. They did not say or write a word about institutions that articulate the national sovereignty of a country, particularly the assembly, as the highest authority in a democratic system. According to the world, this would, apparently, have to be decided between the Bosnians and the Herzegovinians, provided that, after 200,000 dead, 170,000 wounded, and a million and a half refugees, they do not again resort to the lethal form of tripartite national authority.

In New York, Vance and Owen have, supposedly, explaining the form of the transitional presidency, already indicated to the Bosnia- Herzegovina delegation that neither Radovan Karadzic nor Mate Boban can be part of that body. And that, by this analogy, Alija Izetbegovic deduced that this applies to him, as well, we see from this recent statement that he will withdraw from the structure of power when peace is restored. However, the speculations as to the names that would appear in the transitional government undoubtedly show that to relinquish power for the benefit of the country and all citizens is, in these parts, an inconceivable gesture. After the Zagreb agreement and the forming of the coordinating body of the representatives of the Muslim and the Croatian peoples in Bosnia- Herzegovina, we often hear that those six names should represent the two-thirds of the future transitional Presidency. Therefore, along with Izetbegovic and Boban (with their

people E. Ganic, F. Abdic, and M. Akmadzic, F. Boras) there should be three Serbian names that do not incline toward the title of criminal of war or initiator of aggression, and that would still come from the Serbian Democratic Party. The speculations that Miodrag Simovic, who was, until recently, deputy prime minister of the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will leave for Pale soon to return as one of the three from the Serbian side to the transitional Presidency, are getting louder. The unconfirmed story is that Simovic is headed toward Pale after a year in wartime Sarajevo, with the approval of Izetbegovic, as well as of the Minister of Internal Affairs Jusuf Pusina. The rumor confirms the calculations concerning the names that would make it in the transitional Presidency, considering the fact that the decisions in that body, as the peace plan foresees, will have to be made by consensus. Moreover, for the Serbian side, as the most responsible for the war and the senseless suffering of civilians, it would be enough to nominate the remaining two members of the Presidency. The postelectoral three-nation coalition would actually be rewarded for the failure of their political options and for drawing the country into the bloody war, in a way that would even more efficiently suppress all different opposition aspects of political activity outside the three national parties.

The test for such future political events is the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina that was announced for 10 May and will take place in Zenica. Clearly, the pressure on the representatives not to attend will come both from Sarajevo and from Grude, but if the Assembly does take place, this could be a starting-point toward the restoration of political life in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is necessary to convene the Assembly, because, by accepting the peace plan and by the cessation of war, its rights are automatically rehabilitated, i.e. all powers granted to the wartime Presidency will be returned to the Assembly. That is why it was planned that, at the meeting in Zenica, the deputies evaluate, accept or refuse all laws and regulations introduced by the Presidency functioning as the Assembly during the past wartime year. Furthermore, the question of the Government that does not exist, i.e. does not function, will be raised. The issue of appointing officials to various government bodies without consulting the assembly Committee for Selection and Appointment is also planned to be on the agenda.

In conclusion, one of the most difficult and the most important tasks facing the deputies in Zenica is the question of the responsibility of those whose politics had such catastrophic results. Also, they have to make a demand that the Assembly exert influence on the forming of the Presidency and the Government in the transitional period and on the revitalization of the entire political life in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In fact, the Assembly remains (or is yet to become) the only and the key way for every opposition party to influence the flow of political events and decisionmaking in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The signals of cochairmen Vance and Owen, i.e. those who are, ultimately, responsible for the implementation of the peace plan, that are evident in the suggestion indicating that the future authorities will not consist of the leaders of national parties, and the repeated support by the European Parliament for the revitalization of the assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, indicate that if something is not written in the Vance-Owen plan, this does not mean that it should not be done. On the contrary, not only the future peace, but also the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state depend on that. Nevertheless, the level of the peace plan does not go beyond the establishment of peace, which, alone, cannot prevent extreme instances of national politics—the rounding up of national territories, especially as the signing of the peace plan on the part of the leaders of the three national parties does not mean giving up their initial political options.

B-H Assembly To Discuss Realization of Peace Plan

AU1105085493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] In compliance with the provisions of the rules of procedure of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly that regulate the work of the assembly in conditions of war, the highest legislative body will convene in Sarajevo, Zenica, and Bihac at 1100 [0900 GMT] today.

Today's assembly session will discuss contributions toward the establishment of lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the consistent realization of the documents contained in the Vance-Owen plan.

SR Panther Unit for Special Tasks

93BA0933A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 93 pp 6-7

[Article by Marko Rucnov: "Among Fighters From Majevica: 'Panthers' in Battle Every Day"]

[Text] The well-known special-purpose guard unit of the Armed Forces of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] got the name "Panthers" from its first commander, Lt. Col. Branko Pantelic Panther, whose courage, after his heroic death on 4 September, is the subject of song and legend throughout the Majevica refugee camps and among Serb fighters.

Life in Bijeljina seems completely normal. There is a big crowd and an exceptional selection at its well-known market. Grave concern and fear can be easily read on every face. Hopeless reports are replaced by others that are even more hopeless. The unprecedented Ustashi brutality and incredible cruelty in their bloody orchestration from the Drina all the way to Cetinje and Ravni Kotari took more than 1,000 Serb lives during the last 10 days of January. The authorities are "executing" dictates from the cabinet of the new Ustashi Reich with a very significant overthrow of the "norm." The pathology of

crime has been extended for new, horrible pages. Scenes of Serb children "nailed" to poles in Ravni Kotari were the "reason" that the European Community began giving more serious consideration to a more significant extension of the already prepared package of "new measures" against Serbs, while the Security Council managed to send several dozen "final" warnings to a frustrated Tudjman and the restored NDH [Independent State of Croatia—1941-45].

Devastated Serb Towns in Majevica

The reason we were in Bijeljina, one of the busiest cities in the Serb republic, was a unit of the Serb national guard, better known under the name "Panthers from Majevica." This well-known special-purpose unit began its military course on 12 April, when it became one platoon of the Serb national guard, part of the Bijeljina territorial defense.

We spoke with Second Lieutenant Dragan Beslic, the press liaison.

"We took our oath on 3 May in Obrijez, on the slopes of Majevica, and the next day we went to the consecration of a church at the resort Dvorovi. That very evening we set out on our first combat mission in the Brcan region," 2d Lt. Beslic tells us. "We had wounded fighters on that first combat mission. Later, events overtook one another at lightning speed, while we grew into a large unit. When the Bijeljina territorial defense was disbanded in mid-June, we, together with new fighters, were transformed into the First Guard Brigade. It is especially significant that the guard bore the burden of liberating Bijeljina. In the arduous battles for Brcko in late June, we had as many as nine dead soldiers and 54 wounded. Urban fighting replaced the very unpleasant fighting at Majevica. Breakthroughs, the capture of territory, cleansing. Fighting at Majevica was very difficult. Alija's Ustashi devastated numerous Serb villages around Majevica.

"At notorious Teocak, we had seven days of uninterrupted fighting. We inflicted major losses on the Ustashi. In early July, Maj. Branko Pantelic Panther became the commander of our brigade. This wonderful man and exceptional officer came as a volunteer from his native Obrenovac. He already had several months of experience with intense warfare from the liberation of Vukovar. Maj. Ljubisa Savic was appointed chief of staff of our brigade. We all began to function irreproachably. Then we had combat to maintain the line at Piperi. One of our sabotage platoons worked wonders among Alija's Ustashi."

Breakthrough to Smoluca

We asked 2d Lt. Beslic about the battle waged by the "Panthers" to save the encircled population of Smoluca, which was also reported to our public.

"On 12 August, we got orders to break through to Smoluca, in the Lukavac part of Majevica, on the Doboj-Tuzla road. There, around 7,500 members of the Serb nation had been encircled for a full three months. The fighting lasted seven days. Four soldiers died, but we saved our people by crossing several of the enemy's defense lines. In our war booty Capt. Savo Jovanovic Dzelic captured an Iraqi-made bazooka.

"After Smoluca, we went to secure relays in Majevica, and then we went to Munbasice. We also liberated a large part of Jasikovac. However, these territories that we liberated had no one to protect them, so that we liberated captured areas several times. On one such mission, our commander Panther was killed. Right before that tragic event, he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. That happened to us at Dzemat, near Snjeznica. Priboj and the adjacent dam were in danger of falling. Maj. Panther was at the head of a column. He met some reservists at the bottom of a hill, and asked whether our men were up above in the positions. They confirmed that our men were up above, but Panther walked into an ambush. Capt. Stevan Lazic was killed on that black 4 September with Maj. Panther.

"Maj. Mauzer assumed command and organized the defense of Priboj. The defense of Priboj lasted for four days, and we also had to save the people who were fleeing in panic from the Ustashi knife. During September alone, around 10,000 refugees entered Bijeljina after their homes were burned and plundered. As many as 35 Serb towns below Priboj are held by Alija's Ustashi, but Alija continually talks about some sort of ethnic cleansing that we are carrying out. We spent all of September fighting to defend the dam. The Ustashi suffered many major loses, so that they had three days of mourning in Tuzla.

"In October, we had heavy fighting at Piperi and Kolimer, but once again there was no one to protect the captured positions. The reserve police fleeing those captured positions threw down not only their weapons, but also their cigarettes. Let this interview for VOJSKA be an invitation to all our people who have fled across the Drina and are able to fire a gun, let them return as soon as possible. The empty and plundered towns of Majevica, our wounded Majevica, call on them to return."

Chinese Machine Gun

"For months, Alija has been begging the world and the United Nations to allow him to import arms, but there is no one's weapons that his and Tudjman's Ustashi do not have. In November we had heavy fighting to defend the corridor at Obudovac, Brnik, Ostra Luka, and Markovic Polje. The flat ground, the entrenched enemy, the marshy terrain—all this meant that we had very heavy fighting. The Ustashi artillery across the Sava was not sparing any ammunition. I remember 13 November, when 120 mortar projectiles of various calibers were fired against us in only half an hour. Our medical corps commander, Djordje Mitrovic applied his expertise in treating wounds to save the lives of many of our fighters.

His treatment of shrapnel wounds is considered by many experts to be truly masterful.

"During this fighting, since I mentioned a little earlier the well-armed state of the Ustashi, we captured, among other things, a Chinese-made 84-model machine gun.

"After Obudovac came the fighting around Orasje, and then Bratunac. Here Alija's Ustashi attacked out of bewilderment. The people, in panic, fled across the Drina en masse. There is one horrible scene that shows how fear as Njegos would say, can dirty a person's honor. A woman with a child in her arms jumped into the swollen Drina, and a man with a gun between his knees, crouching under the doorway of a house, trembled out of fear."

Volunteers: Benton, Chicago, Michel...

We asked 2d Lt. Beslic how the influx of volunteers into the unit is going.

"We get a large number of volunteers, and we then send them for additional training. However, a particular problem with us is the officers corps, because plenty of our officers have been wounded; indeed, the composition of the unit is such that more than 50 percent of us are from other regions."

[Question] We have heard that you even have a foreigner.

"Yes, we have an English national, Paul Main Benton. He came to us in November to see whether the Serbs are criminals, as the newspapers in the West write about us, and he says that he became convinced very quickly that such stories are simple deception and fabrications. He tells us that he will stay with us until the end of the war, because he has seen how humanely we treat our prisoners. That was especially inspiring to him."

[Question] How do you communicate with Mr. Main?

"That problem is solved very successfully by Nedeljko Todorovic Chicago. He lived in Chicago for 27 years, and then decided to help his Serb brothers when they were worst off. Previously, Chicago was part of Clinton's campaign team when Clinton was running for governor. Chicago recently sent a letter to Clinton congratulating him on his victory and also describing to him what his happening here.

"One special story in the 'Panthers' is Capt. Michel Ostojic, who was in the French Foreign Legion for many years, and in our brigade is a real expert in technological innovations. He turned an ordinary 'Deitz' truck into a real armored combat vehicle with a 76 mm gun. He put launchers on our fighter planes, mounted a BBR [expansion not given] on a vehicle, and how he protected the track of a tank is another story," 2d Lt. Dragan Beslic told us at the end of our interview.

Always Plenty of Trials

We set out for the bus station. The "Panthers" have a new mission. They must save Skelani. We are certain that they will carry out this mission exactly as their first commander, Lt. Col. Branko Pantelic Panther, one of the top heroes of Majevica, would have wanted.

At the bus station, we read the obituaries.

Milorad Ristic bravely fell for the Serb nation on 6 September 1992 in Majevica, age 35.

Miko Ivanovic, sergeant major in the Serbian Armed Forces, bravely perished in Pozarnica on 13 September, age 44. On the same date and in the same place, Radomir Racanovic, age 35, also died. Capt. Slobodan Bato Djordjic fell in Dizdarusa, Cvijetin Mitrovic in Brcko, Milos Novakovic Sremac in Kolimer, Milivoje Stojanovic in Bojici, and Milan Maksimovic bravely perished in Gorica, near Brcko, age 27.

There is no end to the dark recitation. "Flowers for some distant generation will spring up on the graves," our sage Njegos consoles us, and inspires us, because only in that way can we preserve this gene of Jovo, our ancient ancestor, the gene that has carried us through a history for whose favor we have paid the highest prices. We have never lacked for trials. The latest is coming from our western Serb lands. A Polish UNPROFOR battalion, with Jesuit vileness planned to the last detail, drained the oil and fluids from our tanks to cool off the engines.

Renewed Attacks on RSK Villages, Settlements

LD1005215193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2124 GMT 10 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, May 10 (TANJUG)—Croatian Forces renewed attacks on the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) in the Zadar-Benkovac direction of the northern Dalmatia battlefield at 6:40 p.m. local time Monday (1640 GMT), following a 24-hour lull, military sources in Knin said.

The Army of the Republic of Croatia opened strong artillery fire on civilian facilities in Serb settlements and villages of Smilcic, Pozderi, Radmanovici and others, the same sources added.

On Sunday night, the Croatian Army opened tank and mortar fire on Serb positions in the Skradin hinterland, in Lika and Kordun. The RSK Army Command said in a statement issued earlier on Monday the aggressor intended to destroy civilian facilities and property in order to prevent the return of refugees.

The RSK, proclaimed in late 1991 on a predominantly Serb-populated territory of the forcibly seceded former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, was put under U.N. protection in March last year.

On January 22 this year, Croatia launched an offensive on the RSK—attacking also U.N. troops—in an effort to forcibly impose its rule on the U.N. protected areas.

Tudjman, Albania's Berisha Discuss Mutual Relations

LD1005170293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 May 93

[Excerpt] Following the conclusion of the first round of Croatian-Albanian state talks, Republic of Croatia President Dr. Franjo Tudjman gave a luncheon for his guest, Republic of Albania President Sali Berisha, who arrived for a one-day visit to our country at noon today. During the luncheon, the two statesmen exchanged toasts. According to official sources, the two presidents, who were heading their respective delegations, discussed mutual relations. Full unanimity was reached on the possibilities and necessities in the development of Croatian-Albanian relations in the economic field, especially in the areas of trade and culture. The talks will continue this evening, when political relations in southeast Europe should be discussed, especially the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

The Albanian president was accorded the highest state honors during his visit to the presidential palace. After the playing of the Albanian and Croatian national anthems, Presidents Berisha and Tudjman inspected the Croatian Army guard of honor. The reception at the presidential palace was also attended by Assembly President Stipe Mesic, Chamber of Counties President Josip Manolic, as well as Croatian deputy prime ministers and ministers, top-level army officials, and head of the President's Office, Dr. Jure Radic. [passage omitted]

Ambassador to UN on Croat-Muslim Conflict in Bosnia

LD1105121093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] In response to a statement last night by the president of the UN Security Council, Croatia's permanent representative in the United Nations, Mario Nobilo, said that the Croatian Government will take further measures in order to force both sides [in Bosnia] to honor the cease-fire. He added that it is not fair to single out for condemnation only the Bosnian Croats because certainly both sides should be blamed. He cited examples of Muslim attacks on the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Asked by journalists whether the UN Security Council embargo on the import of arms should remain in force, Nobilo said that the Croatian Government believes in the demilitarization of the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, if the international community decides to lift the arms embargo against Muslims, this will apply to Croats as well, Nobilo believes. From the military point of view, the Muslims cannot fight alone, the Croatian ambassador said.

Report Views Croat-Serb Relations

AU1105102593 Zagreb NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 93 p 3

[Vesna Roller report: "Persuade the Irreconcilable, Calm the 'Naughty'"]

[Text] Zagreb—A platform for the normalization of Croatian and Serbian relations exists. It is formulated by the Constitution, by the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Minority Rights, and by the Law of Absolution, but there are numerous failures and mistakes in its implementation. Such was the conclusion of the constituting session of the Government Committee for the Normalization of Croatian and Serbian Relations, appointed by the Council of Defense and National Security on 15 April.

Croatian leaders have made considerable efforts to improve relations between Croatia and Serbia, said Josip Manolic, committee president, but those efforts were fruitless. Apart from the legal regulations, Manolic added, Croatian leaders attempted to make contact with the Serbs in the UNPA [United Nations Protection Area] zones and to fulfill the obligations entrusted to us by the international community concerning those areas. The attempt, on behalf of Croatia, to establish cooperation with Serbia on the highest level, more than six months ago, failed because the Serbs, again, opted for war. The abyss between the clearly marked Croatian strategy on the relations between the Croats and the Serbs—within Croatia as well as at international level—

and the weaknesses in its application is the area on which the newly founded committee should be working.

This body can, and must, determine particular questions, problems, and hindrances that may appear during the process of the application of the planned strategy. The changes on the international scene, where the green light was given to those who seek a peaceful solution to the crisis on the area of the former Yugoslavia, will help the committee.

The main task of the committee for the Normalization of Serbian and Croatian relations is the creation of a public opinion that will affirm the peaceful solving of Croatian and Serbian relations on all levels and the engagement of all people who are for reconciliation and the development of the together, for that is the only way to isolate the "other side," the one which still sees the war as the answer to all problems, said Zdravko Tomac. The realization of the Constitutional Law on Minority Rights must be followed and "intensified" in two areas—we must prevent individuals and groups on the Croatian side that break laws and split the law, and, on the other side, explain to the Serbs that the Constitutional Law guarantees the actualization of their civic and national rights. "Every blown-out Serbian house is a great help to the Chetniks," said Tomac, and added that the committee has the right to request that even the highest government institutions obey the regulations of a law-governed state.

Zivko Juzbasic [Social Democratic Party of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes] said that the committee must influence the government departments to speed up solving the "vital questions" for the Serbian minority in Croatia—certificates of citizenship, military pensions—and that the state must offer more security to their citizens of Serbian nationality. It is unforgivable to tolerate people breaking into apartments. The problem of people living in military apartments needs to be solved. Firing Serbs from jobs has to stop. Juzbasic emphasized that a growing "marginalization" of the antifascist war, in which a great number of Serbs had participated, has an extremely negative effect on the Serbs in Croatia. He added that there is a need for an immediate foundation of an International Court for Human Rights and for the appointment of a public attorney, which will all contribute to the creation of the climate for new and better Croatian and Serbian relations.

Although he distanced himself, stating that the problem of Croatian and Serbian relations cannot be entirely solved until the "general" Croatian-Serbian conflict is brought to an end, Jovan Bamburac [committee member] also pointed out the need for creating a different "general climate" for which the media and other forums for public speaking and appearance have an important role.

In order to change the climate, said Josip Boljkovac [vice president of the committee], we need to calm the "naughty" people on the Croatian side. "Deleting" from the Law on Disabled World War II Veterans, not granting the prisoners of the Ustashi concentration camps the status of political prisoners, exclusion of the Croatian Army and Police from the jurisdiction of the Parliament, as Boljkovac said, does not contribute to a "healthier" climate in Croatian and Serbian relations. Although the Serbs had asked for less than they got from the Constitutional Law, it has to be respected now, and all those who break it must be punished, emphasized Boljkovac, and mentioned several examples of citizens of Serbian nationality having been killed "outside the front-lines" by soldiers of the Croatian Army, and the breaking-in and looting of Serbian houses by some "small groups of Croatian Army soldiers."

Replying to Boljkovac and Juzbasic, Ivan Aralica [committee member] emphasized that it is important for Croatia to form a clear, affirmative attitude toward antifascism, but he also warned that one should not cause a quarrel between the antifascist Croats and "those others." Petar Vidakovic [committee member] said he thinks that Juzbasic's thesis concerning the need for protection of the Serbs in Croatia is "dangerous" because the distinction between the Serbs and the Croats should not be made in such a manner.

Milorad Pupovac [former president of the Serbian Democratic Forum, now committee member] believes that, in solving the Croatian and Serbian relations, one should uphold the substantial and not the ideological elements, and implement in practice the concrete, publicly announced values like, for example, antifascism. Pleading for particular actions which would contribute to the normalization of relations between the Serbs and the Croats, Pupovac suggested the initiation of a meeting between Croatian and Serbian intellectuals, that would raise the awareness of the need for Croatian and Serbian negotiations at the highest level.

Although the dilemma arose as to whether the committee should work in plenary sessions or in working groups, in the end it was decided that, for the time being, they will continue working plenary, with all members present. The next session will probably be held within a week, until when the international game of the Bosnian Serbs will be "disentangled"—which will, all members of the committee agree, significantly influence Croatian and Serbian relations on all areas of the former Yugoslavia.

Prime Minister Valentic Presents Economic Plan

93BA0912A Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by D. Djuretek and M. Piskor: "Test of the Government"]

[Text] *The government will carry out a radical tax reform, but for the time being it will try for a substantial reduction in tax rates, while increasing tax volume; the prime minister also advocated strict financial discipline, in regard to which the government will be uncompromising.*

Zagreb—The basic elements of the Croatian Government's economic program, the formation of local government authorities, and the preparations for the upcoming elections within the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] were the central topics of yesterday's meeting of the HDZ Main Committee, which was chaired by the party and state president, Dr. Franjo Tudjman. The meeting in the Globus congressional palace at the Zagreb fairground was attended by more than 500 HDZ members from all parts of the Croatian Republic.

Prime Minister Nikola Valentic, explaining the basis for his and the government's economic program, emphasized that curbing inflation was the government's first task, in which it would succeed or fall. In particular, attention will be paid to monetary and fiscal policy, as well as wage policy, as the three main anchors for the stabilization program, but also to a fourth anchor, no less important than those three—the gray issuance of money, which is one of the main sources of inflation and the crisis in the Croatian economy.

Most Important To Increase Production

Prime Minister Valentic emphasized that the government would ask the Assembly to conduct a monetary policy that would revive production. The government will carry out a radical tax reform, but for the time being it will aim at reducing tax rates while increasing tax coverage. The present situation, in which the rate of taxes and contributions exceeds 120 percent, has a disincentive effect, and very soon the rate of taxes and contributions will have to be less than 100 percent if we want to have successful management and if we want to attract foreign investors. A continued real decline in wages can endanger implementation of the entire program, because of social tensions. At the same time, however, a growth in wages can only occur if production is increased and inflation is curbed.

The prime minister is also in favor of strict financial discipline, with respect to which the government will be uncompromising, although it is aware that the consequences of a consistent application of financial discipline will be very difficult.

Energy, Food, Tourism

N. Valentic pointed out the difficult situation with electricity, not only in Dalmatia but also throughout Croatia. On 23 April, a government meeting will be held in Split in order to straighten out the difficult situation with electricity in Dalmatia. Big problems with electricity are threatening all of Croatia because of the enormous losses of HEP [Croatian Electrical Industry], which at this moment are over 150 million German marks. Croatia, Valentic said, does not have any chance of competing with Japan or Germany in electronics or industry, but it is necessary to focus all our forces on agriculture and tourism. The government has saved the spring sowing through financing, but the restructuring of agriculture will have to be started before the fall sowing, because Croatia needs to produce food for the market, without losing from that production. The government will assist the development of small village farms. It will also propose to the Assembly that an independent ministry be established for tourism, because at this moment tourism is the only thing that can bring Croatia fresh capital. Agriculture and tourism are the backbones of Croatia's economic development.

In less than 30 days, the government will start large investment projects and public works. The plan includes starting the construction of road links between Zagreb and Sentilj and Zagreb and Rijeka, the Adriatic highway, a bridge over the Novska gorge, the Split bypass, and an Istrian "Y." The value of those projects is $1.5 billion, and the government will finance the program by granting concessions, primarily to domestic enterprises.

Resolutely Against Crime

There is no alternative to the transformation, privatization, and restructuring of the economy, the prime minister continued. The government will fight resolutely against all forms of crime, at all levels. It will also insist upon strengthening the law-governed state, further privatization of the media, the development of local self-government, and the protection of human rights.

The government is not deviating from implementation of the Vance-Owen plan, the return of the exiles, and the establishment of the law-governed state throughout all Croatia's territory. Often the criteria of the IMF and the World Bank are not acceptable to Croatia, but we do not have any chance of entering Europe and obtaining aid without accepting them, Valentic emphasized. He concluded that in order to carry out this program, the government needs support from the entire HDZ and the majority in the Assembly, as well as the trade unions and the people.

The party vice president and Deputy Prime Minister, Vladimir Seks, spoke about the upcoming establishment of authorities in local administrative bodies, and the HDZ's tasks in this. This has to do with implementation of the Croatian Republic Constitution's provisions and the HDZ's documents, while taking into account the European Charter on Local Self-Government and Croatian traditions. In 90 percent of the cases, the HDZ presidency has adopted the proposals from the HDZ provisional parish committees regarding candidates, and so the membership is asked to carry out those decisions by the presidency unconditionally. No one member of the HDZ should accept a candidacy or be elected if it is not coordinated with the party's leadership.

Bold Calls

Speaking about the political situation in Croatia and the surrounding area, Dr. Ivic Pasalic, chairman of the HDZ Headquarters executive committee, said that certain goals of the policy of destabilizing Croatia were at work again. It is spreading stories about the lack of media

freedom, the authoritarianism of the Croatian government, and the inconsistency of Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Once again, on 20 March Paraga, president of the HSP [Croatian Rights Party] began to issue orders on ranks and to appoint commanders; on 9 April the HSP's representative for England wrote a letter to the president of Turkey asking Turkey for assistance because of "Tudjman's undemocratic and anti-Muslim policy." Ivic Pasalic associated this occurrence with the previous letters from D. Paraga to the U.S. Congress about the alleged genocide against Serbs being carried out by the Croatian authorities, all in order to overthrow the democratically elected authorities in Croatia.

There have also been extremely bold calls from the HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Alliance], Pasalic said. Drazen Budisa, at a press conference, openly called for a split in the HDZ, seeking support from the so-called liberal wing within the HDZ. In that same context of attacks against the HDZ, there have also been accusations about the one-party system that allegedly prevails in Croatia. There have also been conflicts within the HDZ, Pasalic said, but there have been more differences in opinion and unnecessary statements in the newspapers than there have been real disagreements. One cannot just state accusations that the HDZ is a fascist party in that way, and it is necessary to clear this up, just as it is necessary to clear things up with those those who, for example name streets after individuals who are then used to accuse Croatia that a restoration of fascism is under way in it.

In response to all these questions, Dr. Ivic Pasalic said, the party's presidency has given clear answers. The HDZ will not stand behind any of its members who has been involved in any sort of criminal action. Also, Pasalic announced imminent elections within the HDZ and changes in the statute.

Extensive Discussion

The first to take the floor during the discussion was Stjepan Sulimanc, by asserting that it was necessary to correct all the negative things that were happening in the transformation, and he also advocated a law on cooperatives. Marijan Petek asked Valentic what would happen with denationalization, because he thought that it was necessary to establish a titular owner for property. Vlado Krizanic advocated having the municipalities obtain enough funds for development.

Zdravko Bajzek emphasized that the tax system had to stimulate healthy foundations for trade. Josip Andric talked about the HDZ's work in Istria, on the islands, and on the coast, and emphasized that in that area the positive terms of antifascism were being denied within the party. Marko Starcevic from Delnice criticized the incomprehensible policy of the Ministry of Forestry, which was ruthlessly destroying forests.

Academician Dalibor Brozovic talked about the necessary measure in the attitude toward antifascism. He urged that an optimal attitude be found, and that the government find an appropriate measure in this. Mirko Nikolasevic from the HDZ city committee in Vukovar emphasized that the time was ripe to have the residents of Vukovar and eastern Slavonia annexed to the homeland. "I want," he emphasized, "us to celebrate 30 May 1993 at our homes in Vukovar. Those who want to live with Croats," he said, "should display the Croatian flag and accept Croatian legislation."

Vera Slanic said that the Zrinski and Frankopan Fund would request that in March, all employees give up 1 percent of their net personal income in favor of the Fund. Milivoj Kujundzic emphasized that the institutionalization of any faction whatsoever within the HDZ should not be allowed. Antun Vrdoljak asked what people were waiting for in connection with starting the public works, and warned that factions could not be permitted within the HDZ.

Nikica Valentic explained that denationalization was one of the government's biggest problems, and that consultations on it had already started. "Vukovar is our shrine," he said, "and the government will do everything possible." Ivic Pasalic denied Josip Andric's statements that antifascist legacies were being neglected in Istria.

Jansa Holds News Conference on Visit to U.S.

AU1105080993 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] After his visit to the United States, Defense Minister Janez Jansa held a news conference in Ljubljana. He presented the content of meetings with the U.S. military officials at the news conference. Robert Skerjanc reports:

[Begin recording] In the talks with the U.S. military experts they primarily discussed the military and security position of Slovenia, the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina and measures connected with this, and cooperation. Regarding cooperation, they agreed in the Pentagon to exchange military delegations and experts with the Center for Strategic Studies and to offer the possibility for Slovene officers to be trained at U.S. military schools and academies. They also discussed the lifting of the arms embargo for Slovenia.

At the meeting the Slovene delegation, which besides the defense minister also consisted of Dr. Anton Zabkar, also put forward a new initiative for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They proposed that the UN Security Council pass a resolution according to which the international observers would supervise the border between the so-called FRY and Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus supervise the publicly given promise that Serbia will no longer send aid to the Bosnian Serbs.

Serbia gave permission for this last August, when it signed the London Agreement envisaging such a supervision. These measures would prevent the maintenance of Serbian military hardware and would also have a political impact. With the supervision, the Bosnia-Herzegovina borders would be internationally recognized for the first time, which would put the Serbs from Krajina into a new strategic position. On the other hand, such measures would put the FRY in a tight spot, as their opposition to these measures would unmask their scheming in front of the cameras in Pale and, therefore, increase the possibility of a military intervention on its territory, too. [end recording]

Jansa Links Economic Development to Security

93BA0943B Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 17 Apr 93 p 23

[Interview with Defense Minister Janez Jansa by Jadran Vatovec; place and date not given: "If the State Is Less Secure, Economic Development Will Also Be Slower"]

[Text] [Vatovec] Mr. Minister, with the adoption of this year's budget memorandum and the positions and decisions on the budget memorandum, the State Assembly cut off a "piece of the pie" for the needs of your ministry as well. What will the planned 6.51 percent of the total budget funds, which is 14 percent less than last year, mean for your ministry's activity?

[Jansa] I think that it should be emphasized that the proposed defense budget included funds that will only be enough for regular activity, and moreover to the least possible extent, and that funds necessary to establish combat systems are not included. In connection with what was proposed and adopted, the State Assembly's defense committee, where the discussion was fairly productive?, supplemented some things, in order to increase the funds for several combat systems.

We consequently hope that the State Assembly will adopt some of these supplements. In fact, Slovenia's defense position will certainly be weaker if those supplements are not adopted.

[Vatovec] What would be the consequences of the fact that Slovenia could not start establishing an effective air defense system?

[Jansa] If Slovenia does not start establishing that system this year, then it will represent a critical point during the coming years. It is a system that cannot be put together in just one year, or in a few months, and every month in the year can represent a fatal mistake (or it may not), depending on what is happening and what will happen around us. Usually states that are in a similar situation to Slovenia's do not risk as much as we will if the funds for defense are cut as much as indicated.

[Vatovec] At two of its meetings, on 11 March and 15 March, the Slovene government discussed two documents related to your ministry, namely the decree on ranks and promotion and a proposed resolution on the starting points for Slovenia's national security plan. A considerable debate in the media followed the discussion of both documents and the two letters from Republic President Milan Kucan. The debate is still taking place, even though last week there was a meeting among you, Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, and Republic President Milan Kucan.

[Jansa] The debate is continuing, although it is not a debate among those of us mentioned in the articles, but rather among those who are writing the articles. I myself only indirectly answered one of the letters, which the state president sent to me (he sent the other one to the prime minister). I do not know why it was necessary for those letters to be made public. Certainly matters could have been settled more productively without that, but now they will be, in the only way possible, in accordance with the constitution and legislation. Since the legislation is contradictory, several such places exist (between the provisions of the Law on Defense and Protection and the provisions of the Law on the Government—interviewer's comment), and the legal experts who are already working on this will state the solutions or propose solutions for the future. That was approximately also the agreement at the meeting among Kucan, Drnovsek, and me. It is being worked on, in order to conclude the discussion of the national security plan, and prepare a proposal for a new law on defense as soon as possible, and in order for the group of legal experts to

find appropriate solutions for this interim period, with priority given to two issues that should be resolved first of all—namely the problem of promoting the chief of the republic headquarters, and the problem of appointing officers in the permanent force.

[Vatovec] The appointment of the chief of the republic headquarters was probably also the subject of your talk with Kucan and Drnovsek?

[Jansa] We agreed on measures that will not only clarify things, but also put them in their place during the period until the adoption of new legislation.

[Vatovec] The group that will resolve the disputed legal issues in the area of legislation regulating the organization of Slovene defense will be headed by Minister Lojze Janko. How will your ministry participate in this?

[Jansa] It is a group of lawyers. Legal experts from our ministry are also participating in that group.

[Vatovec] In the "meantime," how is cooperation between you and Major General Janez Slapar proceeding? Could we say that disagreements can also be perceived in everyday cooperation?

[Jansa] The ministry's work is mostly proceeding normally. We also cannot talk about cooperation between the ministry and the Territorial Defense headquarters, since the headquarters is a body within the ministry. Relations are regulated by laws, in which the obligations of bodies within the ministry are precisely specified. In the very near future those things that are still unresolved now will also be resolved.

[Vatovec] In your answer to the republic president's letter, you mentioned the numerous letters from his staff, which were mostly interventions because of the pensions or other problems of officers in the former Yugoslav army who did not transfer to Territorial Defense [TO]. Then you mentioned officers from the ranks of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] (there are supposed to have been more than 80 of them) who did not transfer to TO, but were serving in your ministry.

[Jansa] As far as they are concerned, the republic president himself said that he had received 41 such letters, which he forwarded, and requested answers to them from individual bodies. I was thinking precisely of that. They are mostly people who are not entitled either to citizenship or a pension, much less service in TO. With respect to the people who did not transfer to TO but later ended up in service in TO by one means or another, the procedure of reassignments has mostly been completed. We did not lump them all together, however. Some of them, in fact, according to our findings remained in the JNA until its departure from Slovenia.

[Vatovec] The decree on ranks and promotion is supposed to provide that those who received an officer's rank in the JNA and want to receive a higher rank must take a special course at the TO training center before the promotion.

[Jansa] That is something that bothers many people the most, but they do not venture to oppose it in public. The decree says that all those who received their last rank in the JNA have to take a special course if they want to receive a higher rank. It will primarily be a matter of obtaining knowledge that they did not obtain at the military academy, concerning Slovene military history, which was completely neglected in Belgrade, and Slovene military terminology.

[Vatovec] In his letter to the prime minister, the republic president states that the decree that was submitted to the government meeting differed in its essential parts from the original one that was coordinated with the government's legislation service.

[Jansa] I think that it is not within the republic president's jurisdiction to evaluate the procedures for the adoption of documents by the government, and that he also did not want to do so, so the problem will be resolved within the government. In the legal sense, that decree was sent for proceedings just as it was coordinated. The legislation service is not competent to assess its contents, which were actually supplemented. That "coordination" of the decree lasted for more than a year.

[Vatovec] During this interim period, until things are suitably resolved at the formal legal level, will Republic President Milan Kucan receive reports from the republic TO headquarters without prior verification from the Defense Ministry?

[Jansa] No. In accordance with the agreement among Kucan, Drnovsek, and myself, and in accordance with the conclusion from one of the previous meetings, with approximately the same composition as provided by the Law on the Defense Council, relations have now been settled, and those reports cannot bypass the minister, who is responsible according to the constitution and the laws for the work of the entire ministry. The president also claimed that he had never requested reports bypassing me. He is requesting those reports which he has a right to under the constitution, and I profoundly agree with that.

[Vatovec] In the future, Slovenia will probably also assume obligations in the defense area, if they exist in the international alliances which it enters. When did the concept of so-called armed neutrality become obsolete?

[Jansa] Armed neutrality was not explicitly defined anywhere as Slovenia's orientation in the defense area. It was discussed, and some scientists and politicians advocated that orientation. In the proposed resolution on the starting points for the national security plan, we are saying farewell to those ideas for the simple reason that Slovenia has already decided on becoming closer to European associations. The defense concept specified by the Maastricht agreement is clear, and any sort of feigned ignorance in this regard can only be harmful. If we pursue the goal of inclusion in the EC, we will necessarily have to agree to the rights and obligations that that community also specifies in the defense area. Until the

final approval, when that possibility is realistic, the final decisions are in the hands of parliament, or even a referendum.

[Vatovec] Could you explain what exactly is meant by the possible use of the armed forces in the event of a state of emergency, which is also mentioned in the proposed resolution?

[Jansa] It is not mentioned any differently in the proposed resolution than it is stated in the constition. The constitution specifies that the State Assembly can declare a state of emergency whenever a great and general danger is threatening the state's survival. That is a formula that is taken from international conventions. Clearly, all forces are engaged then. For instance, if there is a destructive earthquake that destroys half of Slovenia, parliament will certainly declare a state of emergency, and then the army will also be involved in eliminating the consequences. All those claims which see this as a basis for having the army, for instance, "disperse" demonstrators or suppress social unrest are malicious. The Slovene army would never do that, even if such a legal basis existed.

[Vatovec] Among the criticisms addressed to you recently were ones (also stated by Mr. Zmago Jelincic, chairman of the State Assembly's defense committee) saying that you and Dr. Drnovsek should not have participated in talks with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner without first "arming yourselves" with the State Assembly's positions. Similar criticisms also appeared when you and Austrian Defense Ministr Fasslabend signed an agreement.

[Jansa] We have already explained that. The law was strictly observed in both cases, and the starting points for the talks in Brussels and for signing the agreement were adopted by the government, as specified by the law. It was neither an intergovernmental agreement nor an agreement in which the state accepted any obligations that would have to be regulated by a law, but rather obligations that were already regulated. It has been customary ever since the previous term that our ministry informs the parliamentary body for defense about all these contacts, and also takes its suggestions into account.

[Vatovec] It can be seen sometimes that some politicians, through their actions, statements, etc., are still responding to the claims and ideas that you wrote in your book "Shifts." Liberal Democrat Jasa Zlobec, for example, talks about a complete coup in the Defense Ministry, about constant dangers of a coup by you. He has also advanced the thesis that you are trying to win over Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, and in doing so, to play the card of his apparent dispute with Kucan. Can views expressed like that hurt the mutual atmosphere in the government?

[Jansa] I did not read that specifically, so I could hardly comment on it in more detail. In general, such speculations and slanders probably do not benefit the government's effectiveness.

[Vatovec] How would you assess the opinions of another Liberal Democrat, Vika Potocnik, who stated them with respect to the defense budget at the defense committee's meeting? For example, that the defense budget would be too small if the United States declared war.

[Jansa] The speech by Potocnik, who in effect attacked her own budget (it was proposed to parliament by a government whose prime minister is the president of her own party) was not a surprise to me. It was in accordance with her previous behavior. Finally, even in the spring of 1991 Mrs. Potocnik very sharply and arrogantly opposed resources for the defense of Slovenia, which were then decisive in the July war.

[Vatovec] In a certain way you have recently brought up another, less defense-related topic. In one television broadcast, you indirectly dealt with the controversial nonpayment of taxes. You mentioned an enterprise that should have paid 150 million tolars, but did not. It was later possible to hear comments that as a member of the government you should have raised such issues elsewhere, and not on television.

[Jansa] I did not start that discussion. When that broadcast was aired, the debate on it had already been going on for at least two weeks. With respect to those 150 million tolars, I quoted a newspaper article to which there had not been any reaction, any denial or statement, that would have refuted what was published. I only raised some questions in connection with this. With respect to customs duties, the government clarified the matter at the next meeting. With respect to the lack of financial discipline, out-of-control privatizations, and the need to establish financial police, I have already made many proposals since I have been a member of the government. You should not attribute a content to the statement you cited that it did not have.

[Vatovec] Could you say that within the government coalition there has been too little understanding for your justification of the defense budget's requirements?

[Jansa] That discussion is still not so bad, in comparison with previous ones. Especially in 1991, the opposition from the Liberal Democratic Party and the Reformers, if I may say so, was destructive. At that time, when we adopted the crucial decisions, it was a matter of just a few votes in parliament.

Now the situation is not as acute. We cannot, however, exclude the fact that economic development is linked to security. Some people think that if we give more for defense, there will be less for development.

We can also argue the opposite way. If the state is less secure, economic development will also be slower.

[Vatovec] As vice president of the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia [SDSS], could you say, in conclusion, how the fulfillment of your party's initiative for a merger of all social democratic forces in Slovenia is going?

[Jansa] May 15 is approaching. There will be a unification congress then between the SDSS and the Socialists. Talks are also under way with other parties that we have invited to cooperate. The fact is, that in parallel there is also another unification process, the engine for which is the United List, in which those who are already united are uniting.

Personnel Changes Made in Defense Ministry

93BA0935C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 14 Apr 93 p 3

[Article by (mp): "The Minister Doesn't Like People From Upper Carniola?"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Apr—The personnel changes in the Defense Ministry, and especially the latest mentioned "replacement on the horizon," in which General Janez Slapar is expected to be replaced as chief of the republic TO [Territorial Defense] headquarters by Albin Gutman, a current state secretary in the Defense Ministry, have been among the main media topics in recent days. According to the general views, about 80 employees are supposed to have been replaced recently in the Ministry and the TO headquarters, and the republic TO headquarters, the First Administration for Development, and the Third Administration for Military Affairs, which were directly associated with the TO's work, are supposed to have been most affected by the personnel changes.

The personnel changes at RSTO [Republic Territorial Defense Headquarters] (where two important departments are actually supposed to have been eliminated, the department for general affairs and the department for rear services, and their responsibilities were transferred to other administrations) and the above-mentioned two administrations, in the opinion of some of our interlocutors, were supposed to have been aimed at reducing the power, influence, and autonomy of the RSTO, and transferring command completely to the minister's jurisdiction.

In the opinion of some people connected in one way or another with these replacements, the replacements were dominated by Minister Jansa's principle that he should not lose influence over anyone, and consequently he also did not put anyone out in the street, but he removed some people from the work process and transferred them by means of special decrees to a section that does not even exist in the Defense Minister's organizational structure. That is supposed to mean that they are surplus and that they are waiting at home.

The claim that Minister Jansa wants to transfer command to the Defense Ministry is also supposed to be supported by the new composition of the minister's staff. All the administration directors are left in the new, 22-member staff, but the TO has been considerably reinforced (with nine new members), namely with the chief of the operational department at RSTO, all seven commanders of the TO provincial headquarters, and Anton Krkevic, commander of the Moris special brigade. In the decision on the composition of the minister's staff, we can see an asterisk next to the RSTO chief, and the notes say that in connection with the position of chief of the RSTO several issues remain unresolved, which pertain to the provision of articles 25 and 40 of the Law on the Government of the Republic of Slovenia. Until they are clarified by the competent bodies, the function of a member of the staff will be performed by the present chief. In some people's opinion, that method of leadership and command has obscured the function of subordination in the army, since the commanders are directly and strategically headed by the minister.

To be sure, recently we have heard several times that Janez Jansa is replacing people from Upper Carniola, since they are supposed to have been too "tied to Upper Carniola," and some of them were also too influential, and he is appointing people from his native Lower Carniola in their place.

Let us look at several of the other more significant replacements in the Ministry and the RSTO. According to our information, the following were appointed to lower or less important positions: Miran Bogataj (from the position of deputy minister, to the position of a government adviser in the Ministry), Bogdan Koprivnikar (the former director of the First Administration is preparing for military diplomatic service in Budapest), Janko Stusek (from the position of director of the Third Administration, he was to go into active service in TO at the Kranj training center, but he later decided on the position of state secretary in the Ministry of Labor), Jurij Rezek (from head of the information science service, he was transferred to a lower position in the service), Zoran Klemencic (the minister's chef de cabinet was assigned to the officer's school, but he left to be secretary of the Assembly's defense commission), Joze Miklavcic (from the position of republic inspector in the area of information science, he was transferred to be an adviser in the information science service), Ivo Kukec (the former inspector for combat readiness was appointed an adviser in the Security Administration), and Cveto Kolenc (the former head of the sanitation section in the Third Administration was assigned to an analytic-technical group, i.e., he is waiting).

Bank of Slovenia's Monetary Policy Viewed

93BA0935A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 10 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Gordana Pipan: "Yielding to Inflation Is Economically Inappropriate"]

[Text] At an economic forum of the SDP [Party of Democratic Reform] and SDU [Social Democratic Union], Dr. Ivan Ribnikar, a professor at the Ljubljana

Economic School and a member of the BS [Bank of Slovenia] board, tried to answer the questions that are being posed more and more often even among the public—whether the monetary policy of the BS [Bank of Slovenia] is too restrictive, the foreign exchange rate too low, and the interest rate too high, and whether a collapsed economy, with growing unemployment and declining, is nevertheless too high a price for solid money, and the associated pressures upon the Central Bank to relax its established restrictive monetary policy at least a bit.

According to Dr. Ribnikar, the restrictive monetary policy being conducted by the BS is the correct path, since yielding to inflation, to be sure, could temporarily reduce unemployment, but in time it would be even higher. Central banks can issue primary money through interventions in the foreign exchange market or by buying securities. The larger the monetary area, the more possibilities the Central Bank has for issuing money through the open market, i.e., by buying securities. The United States issues almost all its money that way. In small economies, however, the central banks issue most of the money through foreign exchange transactions.

And what does a restrictive monetary policy mean? It is not possible to assess that easily whether monetary policy is restrictive and to what extent, according to Dr. Ribnikar. Monetary policy is restrictive when the central bank ensures that the amount of money in circulation increases by less than the demand for money. It is not possible, however, to conclude how large the demand for money is just from the nominal amount of money in circulation. The Bank of Slovenia has therefore set the goal that it wants to achieve. As a path to the established goal, it has chosen control over the amount of money in circulation. Since it cannot influence the interest rate, the exchange rate, and the amount of money in circulation, the BS cannot also set the interest rate and the exchange rate independently at the same time. By determining the amount of money in circulation, in fact, the two other goals—the interest rate and the exchange rate—are essentially already achieved. We can also find confirmation in theory that the BS correctly chose the short-term goal—i.e., setting the amount of money in circulation. Theory recommends that if the demand for money is stable—and it is in Slovenia, in Ribnikar's opinion—the central bank should chose as its short-term goal influencing the amount of money in circulation.

Why are the exchange rate and interest rate somewhat higher than they would otherwise be? According to Dr. Ribnikar, because of the foreign trade surplus and the effects of Jazbinsek's law, the BS had to intervene further in the foreign exchange market, but in such a way that it did not have any monetary consequences. The BS therefore started to issue treasury notes in foreign money, the foreign exchange reserves were increased, and the result, in addition to a higher exchange rate, was also a somewhat higher interest rate than there would have been otherwise. If the BS had not taken such measures, the exchange rate would have been even lower, there would not have been any foreign exchange reserves, and the question is where the savings that are now the bank's asset in the form of international reserves would have gone. Because of inflationary expectations, they would probably have been spent irrationally.

The combinations between the interest rate and exchange rate also depend on external factors, for example nominal wages and public spending. In fact, with the budget deficit the combinations between the interest rate and exchange rate are less favorable, according to Dr. Ribnikar. Nominal wages and the state's expenditures are also important for the stabilization policy. A side effect of the stabilization policy, with nominally growing wages and public spending, is in fact a real decline in production. Consequently, what is happening with wages and public spending, moreover nominal spending, is important for the stabilization policy, according to Dr. Ribnikar. Specifically, there is no dynamic stabilization.

The BS's policy will not be expansionist unless the bank's council is replaced, Dr. Ribnikar thinks; he is convinced that in the long term any alternative to a restrictive monetary policy would put the economy in an even worse position than it is in today.

Federal

Government Denies Forbidding Entry to Bosnian Serb Leaders

LD1005151693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1446 GMT 10 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Monday denied claims by Bosnian Serb leaders that they were forbidden entry into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.).

The government has not introduced any special regime on the border between the F.R.Y. and the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Yugoslav Government General Secretariat told TANJUG.

Allegations that Bosnian Serb leaders were banned entry into the F.R.Y. were presented by Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic in an interview to Reuters TV on Monday and by Biljana Plavsic to the Belgrade media.

Yugoslav Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Spasoje Bogdanovic told TANJUG that his ministry had not received a decision of the Yugoslav Government which would ban the crossing from the Bosnian Serb Republic to Yugoslavia.

"Since the federal state is in charge of guarding the F.R.Y. border, a decision to change the border regime can be reached only by the Yugoslav Government and the federal police is then obliged to implement it. No such decision has been reached and the Yugoslav police has taken no such steps", Bogdanovic said.

The Yugoslav Ministry of the Interior has not received any information from the Serbian Internal Ministry about developments on the border between Yugoslavia and the Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Political Discord Spreads in Army

AU1105080793 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 93 p 9

[Radovan Pavlovic report: "Farewell to Personnel Officer and Head of Intelligence"]

[Text] Following the decree issued by President Dobrica Cosic almost on the anniversary of the event that happened early in May last year, when a large group of generals of the former Yugoslav People's Army were pensioned off (the Presidency of the SFRY pensioned off 38 top generals and admirals), two high officers of the Yugoslav Army will soon have to take off their general's uniforms, too.

As it was stated by the Military Cabinet of President Cosic, on the eve of May Day, the active military service ceased for Colonel-General Ljubomir Domazetovic and Major-General Nedeljko Boskovic. Both of them fulfilled the conditions for retirement quite a long time ago; however, as is the practice in military circles, they remained in their positions "because of needs of the army." What actually stands behind yesterday's retirements could not be officially found out, neither from two generals nor from the Presidential Military Cabinet.

Colonel-General Domazetovic was deputy of the General Staff's department for information, drafting recruits, and morals. Before the breakdown of Yugoslavia, General Domazetovic performed the function of the head of the General Staff's Third Department, being in charge of organization, formatting, war plans, and drafting recruits, for quite a long time.

With the outbreak of the civil war, that position became almost the most important one in the army, because one had to respond in time to the new situation, and to conduct the draft to increase the personnel in the existing army units. However, the general, as well as the entire body of top brass, did not accomplishe this task very well, which was evidenced in cases of mass desertions and a weak response to the draft.

Military circles were quite surprised that General Domazetovic was not pensioned off in the May wave last year. On the contrary, he was promoted to be the close aide of General Zivota Panic.

Younger officers reproach General Domazetovic, of course not publicly, for his neglecting the duty—in the time when the war fire started flaming up, he engaged himself with literary work. Most of the service time he spent on preparing and publishing the book *Personalities and Deeds of Great Generals Through Centuries.* Although Domazetovic's vocation is personnel officer (appointments, vacancies, promotions, establishment of new organizational units), he also tried his hand at writing history. He engaged the whole team of military aides who worked on collecting materials for his tremendous historiographical undertaking. Military literature critics say that the product of such a work is a 4.5-kilogram book, a compilation about famous generals, without any new information. All in all, it is only a toilsome transcription of the existing materials. Still, the book experienced a very bolstering launching, with many influential guests present, and with a pomp such as had never been organized even for the deceased Marshal Tito, when he was awarded a doctor's degree in military sciences.

Major-General Boskovic's recent retirement is his second one. Five years ago he was the head of the Security Department to the Air Force division, while his superior was General Bozidar Stevanovic, present commander in chief of the Air Force and Anti-Air Force Defense. Boskovic had been pensioned off as a colonel, only to be reactivated early in May last year (people say because Branko Kostic pushed him through) and promoted to general. Furthermore, he was appointed head

of the Security Department, that is the head of the present intelligence-security sector.

His predecessor, General Aleksandar Vasiljevic, publicly accused him of a coup. At the trial that the head of the army intelligence service was brought to [as published], Vasiljevic said that on 11 May 1992 General Boskovic intruded in the Security Department with two armed members of special units and forbade Vasiljevic to enter the building of the Federal Service of National Defense. In the Court Martial, General Vasiljevic disclosed many astonishing facts—reportedly, his successor General Boskovic threatened him with arrest and also claimed that he had been reactivated to square the accounts with the old "debtors" through the rigged "Opera" case. Those "debtors" are reportedly Colonel Slobodan Rakocevic, who was Boskovic's former senior officer, Ratko Radakovic, Ivan Sabolovic, and Radenko Radojcic—all assistants to the Security Department, and involved in the "Opera" case.

Whether two generals had to go because of the aforementioned or some other reasons, can be only speculated about. The speculations about "the cessation of their active military service because of army's needs" has gone so far that people claim that political disagreements in the Serbian and the Federal Assembly have spread also through the military chain of command. It seems that the breakup of the unofficial alliance between the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Serbian Radical Party, at least in terms of solving the Bosnian crisis, most probably resulted in the recent serious search for any traces of the radical current in the Yugoslav Army. In that respect, the removal of two generals can be assessed as appeasing the Serbian radicals.

Air Force Next in Line for 'Cleansing'

AU1105102393 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 93 p 9

[B. Solesa article: "Air Force Next in Line"]

[Text] Dragoljub Simonovic has taken over the post of deputy chief-of-staff of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, until some 10 days ago occupied by Ljubomir Domazetovic. The Nis Army command was taken over by Momcilo Perisic. The "security" or KOS [Counterintelligence Service] number one is no longer Nedeljko Boskovic. Moreover, judging by some information, these are not all the changes and new appointments! Unofficial, but considered to be a "sure thing" in the officer circles of the Yugoslav Army, is the pensioning off of a greater number of generals and officers. The date most often mentioned as being the day when new retirements and shifts in the Yugoslav Army will take place is 25 May.

The above-mentioned circles stress that the new "wave" will hit the Yugoslav Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense. What this whole situation will look like depends on Air Force commander Bozidar Stevanovic.

Rumor has it that General Stevanovic will remain in his post, but several, seven being the figure most often mentioned, of the top officers can expect to be pensioned off for "operational reasons." The phrase "operational reasons," which has already accompanied Domazetovic and Boskovic on their way out, will now also accompany others.

While one interpretation for this personnel cutback of the Army leadership considers that this might have negative consequences for the Yugoslav Army as early as this spring (in case of armed clashes), another sees it as a closing of ranks and "cleansing of thoughts and actions." As usual, there are a lot of those who think that political reasons are behind all this. It is said that Domazetovic favored the "hawk style" in army leadership, and that he insisted on the Serbian iron fist when it came to relations with society. However, his consistent cabinet work and his work on the Law on Army, which was compiled according to Milan Panic's ideas, does not fit in with this theory.

Some circles put head of KOS Boskovic into the alleged clan of Serbs from the "Serbian wing of Montenegro," which insisted that the unconvincing Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic be deposed. There are interpretations that claim Boskovic was the organizer of Branko Kostic's campaign headquarters. Kostic was the rival candidate of Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic. These interpreters of military policy claim that general Domazetovic's closed consultation, which took place a month ago, had for its goal the analysis of the Yugoslav Army's leadership's activity, particularly that of the Montenegrins in the leadership (!), in the "attempted Montenegrin separation from Yugoslavia!"

Fear of Military Intervention Causes Rift

93BA0986A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 26 Apr 93 p 6

[Article by Maroje Mihovilovic: "Mother Serbia Is Seized by Fear"

[Text] The statement at Zagreb airport by Lord Owen, cochairman of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia, that "Radovan Karadzic is leading not only the Bosnian Serbs, but also the entire Serbian people along a dangerous and tragic path," attracted a great deal of attention in Serbia. The statement had such a big impact because now many people in Belgrade and Serbia are wondering more than ever before whether the Serbs outside Serbia really are leading Serbia along that "dangerous and tragic path" of which Lord Owen spoke. That question is also being raised more and more loudly because the Serbs in Serbia have begun to fear for the first time what the inhabitants of three former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, have already felt. They have begun to be afraid of war, and they would like to avoid it and forget about their militant statements and the big promises that they once made to the Serbs outside Serbia.

It has suddenly become clear to the Serbs in Serbia that their most independent fate—whether a war will start in Serbia—is more and more dependent upon Radovan Karadzic's signature on the Vance-Owen plan. A war could break out in Serbia in two ways: through foreign intervention, or through the beginning of internal conflicts, which are possible because of the imposition of new sanctions after 26 April 1993 and the serious social, economic, and political consequences of the tougher sanctions, and also because of the rift among different political views of Serbia's future.

In the past two years the Serbs in Serbia were able to beat their chests when Serbian policy was carried out by the Yugoslav Army, according to some 1991 estimates the fifth strongest army in Europe. When the tanks stormed through Slovenia, when Yugoslav aircraft bombed Croatian cities, and when they carried out genocide among the Muslims in Bosnia, the Serbs could talk, since no one had threatened them with weapons. One only needs to recall what kind of howl arose in the fall of 1991, when, after the Serbs had bombarded the Croatian cities of Osijek, Vukovar, Karlovac, Zadar, Gospic, Sibenik, and Dubrovnik, a few shells fired by Croatian artillery fell on the Srem town of Sid, and how the Yugoslav Army reacted when the Bosnian Muslims, after the genocide in eastern Bosnia and the aggression from Serbia, sent a few shells across the Drina to Bajina Basta and Bajina Koviljaca. One needs to recall that Serbia agreed to international demands to halt the aggression against the former Yugoslav republics only after the Serbian forces experienced defeats on the battlefield. That is how it was in Slovenia, and that is also how it was in Croatia after the defeat in western Slavonia and the sea battle in front of Split, and that is why now the awareness that the fortunes of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be changed by something—direct military intervention by the international community or permission to arm the Bosnian Muslims—could influence the Serbs in Serbia to start suddenly to think differently about Serbia's whole policy toward the Serbs outside of Serbia.

The growing rift between the Serbs and the Serbs in Serbia proper is also indicated by different statements from the so-called Bosnian Krajinas and the lack of statements from Serbia. There are more and more Serbs from the so-called Krajinas who claim that Serbia has betrayed them, and that it is no longer supporting them as it did earlier. At a joint assembly of delegates from the so-called Serbian Republic and the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina in Bosanski Novi (they have now renamed it Novigrad), delegate Milos Vuckovic from Vojnic in Kordun openly criticized the policy of Serbia and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia toward the Krajinas. He said that he doubted whether "their authorities would be prepared to come to our assistance even with the army at the decisive moment." It is known that in previous days Bozidar Vucurevic, the most powerful man in the Serbian authorities in eastern Bosnia, bitterly criticized Slobodan Milosevic and especially Montenegro for giving too little support to the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and even wrote a song about it, which has become very popular.

On the other hand, there are fewer and fewer statements from Serbia that could allay the fear of Bosnian Serbs that they would be left in the lurch at the decisive moment and that Serbia would turn its back on them. Only the president of the Serbian Radical Party, Vojislav Seselj, who was at the assembly in Bosanski Novi, openly said that in the event of a military attack by international forces against the Bosnian Serbs, Serbia would have to enter the war immediately and help them. Other Serbian politicians are mostly keeping silent, but there is an obvious desire on the part of the two most important Serbs, Slobodan Milosevic and Dobrica Cosic, to try to prepare Radovan Karadzic to seek some compromise, which to be sure would not mean complete acceptance of the Vance-Owen plan, but would perhaps give Serbia and the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina some room to maneuver, in which the sanctions would be at least moderated and negotiations would be continued. Milosevic and Cosic are obviously behaving that way under the influence of the political mood in the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is perhaps only changing somewhat because of the threat of new sanctions and military intervention, but it is certainly changing more in Montenegro. Consequently, it is not by chance that in a Belgrade radio interview on the night between Saturday and Sunday, Radovan Karadzic, obviously with the intention of reducing the Serbian Serbs' fear of a possible war and thus also the pressures to sign the Vance-Owen plan, stated that he was "very satisfied that no one is mentioning shooting throughout all of Yugoslavia anymore, but only in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that consequently the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav republic, have to decide on their own fate, which means that the decision had to be made by the people, who are prepared to accept American bombs on their heads and who have to be aware of all the threats, which are very serious at this time."

On one hand Karadzic is thus suggesting that the Serbs in Serbia proper do not have to be afraid of bombs, and that it is thus also unnecessary for them to decide jointly on whether the Bosnian Serbs, "who are prepared to accept American bombs on their heads," will sign the Vance-Owen plan or not. Lord Owen said about this: "Karadzic is really leading the entire Serbian people along a dangerous and tragic path."

Embargo Affects Civil Engineering Projects

LD1005150393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1159 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—Less than 10 percent of construction firms in Yugoslavia have closed deals to utilize more than half their capacity in 1993, Ratko Culibrk, secretary of the Civil Engineering Association in the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, has told TANJUG.

If the state fails to intervene, the majority of construction firms will have to close down, Culibrk said.

According to statistics, the civil engineering employed 165,000 workers at the beginning of 1993. The fall in the volume of production, which started several years ago, reached 25 percent in 1992 compared to the year before.

"The market is narrowing down while the investors, in a general scarcity of money, lack the necessary funds to pay even the works already started. Besides, there is not enough oil to fuel heavy machines needed for construction works," Culibrk said.

After the U.N. economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were introduced in May 1992, all projects abroad were stopped, thus cutting off one of the industry's mmst important sources of income.

"THe embargo made it impossible for us to collect for the completed projects, while the outstanding debt abroad is estimated at over half a billion dollars," noted Culibrk.

He said the only chance for employing construction firms under the circumstances are public works at home to be financed out of primary issue.

Viewpoint on Albanian Autonomy in Macedonia

93BA0935D Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 14 Apr 93 p 11

[Interview with Dr. Mirjana Malevska by Petar Todorovski: "Self-Government or Autonomy"]

[Text] Skopje, 14 Apr—In a referendum on 11 and 12 January 1991, the Macedonian Albanians decided on the establishment of their own territorial-political autonomous province, Ilirida. To be sure, they have not yet specifically implemented the decision, but the issue of Albanian autonomy is hanging like a snare over Macedonia. The Albanians are taking into account the difficulties that are still affecting Macedonia because of the complications with its international recognition, and consequently they are not talking too loudly about their autonomy. The question, however, is what such autonomy would mean in general for the preservation of Macedonian statehood and the regulation of interethnic relations.

Dr. Mirjana Malevska, a political scientist at the Institute for Sociological, Political, and Legal Research in Skopje, says that in the end autonomy is being proposed so that the state will not collapse. In her opinion, it is a concession that should preserve the state as a unit. At the same time, however, autonomy can also be a step toward the state's collapse. Finally, it can aggravate interethnic relations to an extreme.

Consequently, we asked Dr. Malevska whether cultural autonomy would also be good.

[Malevska] I do not know what would happen in that case, but I am convinced that in some cases one should nevertheless concede, in order to raise the threshold of tolerance. No system, including cultural autonomy, means anything by itself, just as guarantees of minority equality do not bring anything.

[Todorovski] Some people are convinced that the Albanians will skillfully use their participation in authority to establish their own state, primarily because of mutual distrust. Is that a real danger?

[Malevska] Nothing is impossible. In restless times, during a time of unsettled borders, and fishing in troubled waters, some Albanians really are dreaming of unification. Now they are all citing the right to self-determination, which actually is not a right, but only a balance of power.

[Todorovski] You mentioned the right to self-determination. Some people say that that right is only recognized for peoples, but not minorities as well.

[Malevska] That already comes under the area of theoretical discussions. What does that right actually mean? What are peoples and what are nationalities? That should be delineated. The modern world is not exactly inclined to favor the right to self-determination, and if it does talk about it, then it talks about a state's right to self-determination.

[Todorovski] The Macedonian constitution says that Macedonia is a state of citizens. The Albanians are still demanding that they be recognized as a constituent part of that state. They thus want the same right that they had until recently, when Macedonia was the state of the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish nationalities.

[Malevska] That is also an anachronism. I myself do not even understand those who say that the Albanians do not have the right to be a constituent part of the state. I also do not understand the Albanians, who are so insistent on being a constituent people.

[Todorovski] What would the Albanians obtain through recognition of that right?

[Malevska] What would the Macedonians lose, if they recognized it? Nothing. The Macedonians also did not lose anything when the Albanians were a constituent part of the state. You can write all sorts of things, but the Albanians are still, objectively, a constituent part of the Macedonian state. Because of their numbers, they entered parliament and the executive branch. Every law that Macedonia passes is passed with their consent. That does not mean cooperation in the formation of the state, not to mention the local level, where they are in the majority. It is something else, however, if this principle is not observed in western Macedonian cities, where they have a sort of sequestration. On the basis of the election

results, however, that cannot last forever. It will not be possible to avoid having the Albanians take power in those areas.

[Todorovski] Was the sequestration in western Macedonia introduced because of a fear of autonomy?

[Malevska] I don't know, but it is true that local self-government is not the same thing as autonomy. Autonomy means a higher degree of independence for some area than local self-government. Autonomous areas adopt their own regulations, but it is different in local self-government. Although the Macedonian constitution guarantees local communities the right to self-government, they do not have it in Macedonia, because everything is centralized.

[Todorovski] As a political scientist, are you convinced that the time has come to recognize Albanians' right to self-determination, because that would avoid possible armed conflicts?

[Malevska] I myself am not in favor of autonomy at all. I am convinced that anything like that in these times would only make interethnic relations even worse, increase tensions, and intensify distrust. The most acceptable thing is what is really feasible, and that is local self-government. In my opinion, local self-governments should be given more independence. And why not? We need more democracy, and that is why I support stronger self-government. Honestly speaking, Albanians are not even close to being proportionately represented in the structures of government, the police, the army, etc.

[Todorovski] Would new elections improve the situation in the interethnic area?

[Malevska] I think not. If the present authorities can keep interethnic tension under control, if they get financial assistance, and if they are also successful otherwise, the democratic bloc, regardless of what it is called, will also win the next elections with a majority. If the present coalition of the social democrats and the Albanians collapses, however, the nationalists will win the elections.

Poll Results on Popularity of Media

93BA0958D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 93 pp 18-19

[Article by Dragan Janjic: "Surveys: Hunt for News"]

[Text] A survey just completed by the agency Partner has shown that for all practical purposes Yugoslavia and Serbia are completely ruled by several central media, alongside which the others are almost not seen. It is, of course, possible to rationally explain the turn toward the center in terms of the situation the country is in. It shows that the average inhabitant of Yugoslavia is preoccupied with major political issues related to the destiny of the country, on which, by the nature of things, they can become informed precisely from the central media. The local media, judging by this survey, have almost entirely lost their importance. As though it had become improper to be interested in public highways in Surdulica, removal of garbage from Belgrade streets, overloaded buses, and such things at a moment when there is a possibility of everything crashing down around us.

The strength of the central media is best seen in the fate of TV Novi Sad, which, judging by the extent it is viewed, has become almost provincial. It sounds almost incredible, but the overwhelming majority of people in Vojvodina watched the First Program of TV Serbia on the frequencies of TV Belgrade, not TV Novi Sad, although visibility of the program is the same on both frequencies.

Radio stations, which are believed to be listened to quite a bit, have experienced a dramatic plunge in this regard. Fewer than 10 percent of the citizens of Yugoslavia polled answered that they regularly listened to the radio, and over that medium as well most people follow the central news program at 1500 hours on the first channel. The other programs of all other radio stations, viewed statistically, are hardly even worth mentioning. The reasons for this situation should be sought in the excessive fragmentation of the radio waves. Belgrade alone has a dozen stations, each of which attracts just a few thousand listeners. The fragmentation of radiobroadcasting has resulted in local topics and programs in which direct telephone contact is frequently made with listeners. Before the onslaught of so-called major problems, the "small" topic [words missing].

Ritual

The survey to which we referred was done on a very large statistical sample of 4,000 people and involved precise "measurement" of the frequency with which practically all media in Yugoslavia are read, watched, or listened to. The central news programs have absolute dominance—the "main" news on the First Program and, when it comes to Belgrade and the broad area around the city, "Days of the Week" by Studio B. So-called political programs such as "Impression of the Week" and "Viewers' Interview" of Studio B also placed relatively high, while all the others except two entertainment programs (the quiz program "That Is That" on Channel 1 and "Entertainment for Millions" on Channel 3 of TV Serbia) and the Saturday evening film on Channel 1 are hardly worth mentioning.

The "main" news program, according to this survey, is watched by an average of 45 percent of the citizens of Belgrade polled, while "Days of the Week" is watched by slightly less than 20 percent. It also turned out that a large number of people spend their evening before the small screens simply "hunting" for news. It begins at 1900 hours with "Days of the Week," and then about 1930 a sizable percentage switch to Channel 1 to hear what the "big" television studio is saying. Partner's survey thus discovered a man who is deeply concerned

about the destiny of the country in which he lives and who ritually repeats the hunt for news evening after evening in a search for answers to his frustrations and worries.

Pass It On

Compared to television, the daily press has incomparably smaller influence, but in spite of everything it is doing better than the radio. Newspaper circulation is considerably less than what it was. At the moment, POLITIKA is in first place with about 140,000 copies printed. An interesting phenomenon has emerged, however—some newspapers pass through as many as five or six hands in the course of the day, at least judging from this survey, which means that when influence is measured, the paid circulation should be multiplied by that number. It might be said from that standpoint that interest in the press has not fallen off essentially, but that newspapers, because of the ever greater shortage, are spending less time in the reader's hands. This is a kind of system of "read and pass it on," which only confirms the thesis of people's great interest in political reality.

The figures which Partner arrived at depart essentially from trends in the contemporary world. In the advanced countries, according to the most recent surveys, the influence of the press is growing, while the influence of television is falling off to a certain extent. Great attention is also being paid to local news, sports, and various forms of entertainment, which is only a reflection of the relative political and economic stability in which those societies live.

In attempting to offer its clients—business and other organizations—as differentiated a picture as it can of interest in the media, Partner arrived at some other interesting figures. It turned out, for example, that the educational distribution of people who watch "Days of the Week" and the "main" news program of TV Serbia is almost inversely proportional. While a convincing majority of those who watch the "main" news are made up of people with elementary schooling, "Days of the Week" is watched most by those who have graduated from high school and college.

Karic Company, Bank Expand Operations

93BA0931F Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 93 pp 31-32

[Article by Z. Grubacic: "Company 'Braca Karic': What Does the System Comprise?"]

[Text] *The capital of Karic Bank has increased to $105 million and turnover to $400 million, with major international ambitions; interest in investing in production and ownership transformation; ambitions for scientific consortium.*

The business success of the company "Braca Karic" [BK], whose activities include banking and finance, engineering and production, insurance and reinsurance, "Ju Komerc," and the "BK" Institute and Fund, is indicated by the growth in the overall scope of business, and well as by the wide diversification of activities. "Karic Bank" has a very significant role in all this. The bank was founded in 1990 and in a relatively short period of time developed into a significant financial institution, with annual turnover of $400 million. The bank's capital increased from $0.2 million in 1990 to $105 million at the beginning of this year. At the same time, the financial potential increased from $6.7 million to $506 million. Besides the fact that more than 60 branches have been opened around the country, there is also a mixed bank in Moscow, and soon the "Karic Company" finance centers in London, Geneva, Kiev, Tashkent, Yakutia, and Yalta will be transformed into full commercial banks.

Its credit potential, level of permanent sources of funds, credit rating and professional competence, and its business ties abroad make it possible for "Karic Bank" to financially attend to all companies, not only small and midsize ones.

The new business moves by "Karic Bank" on the domestic banking market are linked to the opening of checking accounts by the citizens, as a part of the strategy of expanding and developing banking services. A modern information system has been installed, without which the brain of a successful bank is inconceivable in today's world. One of the new "banking products" is a savings card, with which one can make purchases before the maturity date of 90 days, with a corresponding discount after 30 days of its purchase. In addition, a savings letter is once again being issued, with an interest rate of 110 percent and a maturity date of 90 days. A special Easter greeting has also been announced, with which after 100 days one gets 10 dinars for every dinar invested.

In the field of engineering and production, the company's offerings will be focused on the fields of industry and construction, agro-engineering, and complex engineering, according to the project plan for the domestic and foreign market. The emphasis will be on importing new products and perfecting existing ones, all in order to penetrate new markets. In addition, wherever there are personnel, technical, and natural resources linked to individual enterprises whose capacities are not busy enough but can be reactivated in order to achieve profit, "Karic Company" is interested in establishing business cooperation, as well as in direct participation in ownership transformation. One of the deals linked to reviving production is an investment by the company in "Zastava" that comes to two million marks, which will be returned through cars and spare parts. The goal is to achieve a joint profit, through the production and sale of cars.

One of the most developmentally active segments of the "BK" company is the Institute, the goal of which is to ensure a rapid flow of ideas, know-how, and capital.

Concerning itself with educational, scientific, and developmental work, the Institute intends to grow into a scientific research consortium with its emphasis on applied and fundamental research in the area of development and technology transfer. In addition, together with the "BK" fund, the Institute has founded three private faculties for management, where the second generation of students will be enrolling before long.

In order to round off the business process, the company in 1990 reorganized imports, exports, and trade into a special entity, "Yu Komerc BK." Its basic philosophy is quick turnover of resources and high efficiency. At the beginning of 1992, the insurance company "Evropa Internacional" was also founded, which complements the offerings of "Karic Bank" in insuring credit lines, all of the bank's savings, and goods in domestic and international transport.

Serbia

EC Offers To Help Serbia Monitor Border

LD1005203493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—The E.C. on Monday offered to help Serbia monitor its border with the Bosnian Serbs, and ruled out a possible military intervention before—as set out—Slobodan Milosevic's sincerity was tested.

The E.C. foreign ministers decided in Brussels on Monday to encourage Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to carry out the decision to suspend aid for the Serbs in Bosnia, and offered to send several hundred monitors to "test Belgrade's promise."

The governments of the F.R. Yugoslavia and Serbia decided last Thursday (the same day when the Bosnian Serb parliament rejected the Vance-Owen plan) to suspend aid for the Bosnian Serbs, except food and medicine. The embargo includes fuel, raw materials and money transfers.

The E.C. ministers also condemned Croatia for renewed Croat-Moslem fighting in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel is due in Zagreb on Friday to convey Community's protest against the escalating conflict.

The E.C. minister [as received] agreed to invite Russia and the United States to send troops to protect Moslem enclaves designated by the U.N. as "safe areas" if needed.

The E.C. decisions followed an address to the ministerial meeting by co-chairman of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Lord Owen who opposed a U.S. proposal for air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions and for lifting a U.N. arms embargo for Moslems in Bosnia, according to the ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Lord Owen denied allegations that the European allies disagreed with the U.S. over the timing of a possible operation. However, he said the West should focus more on the peace plan than on the debate about military intervention.

Radical Party Prepared To Violate Blockade

LD0805194093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Main Committee of the Serbian Radical Party lent unanimous support to the Assembly of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], which decided to reject the Vance-Owen plan, says a statement by the party sent to TANJUG.

"We expect the Serbian people to confirm the decision of its assembly at the upcoming referendum," the Serbian Radical Party says.

The party sharply condemns a decision by the Federal Government and the Government of the Republic of Serbia to limit the flow of goods and people between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb republic.

"We are expressing readiness to use our own force and to violate any possible blockade imposed on our brothers who live at the other side of the Drina River," the statement says, adding that as a sign of solidarity with the threatened compatriots the Serbian Radical Party will hold a rally on 13 May called: The Drina will not be a border in Loznica.

Scheduled 13 May Assembly Session Postponed

LD1105120193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 11 May 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 May (TANJUG)—Zoran Lilic, president of the People's Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, has postponed the assembly session scheduled for Thursday, 13 May 1993, the assembly's information service has announced. [passage omitted]

The date and proposed agenda of the seventh session of the people's assembly will be established later.

Lack of Power of Serbian Independent Trade Union

93BA0955B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 93 p 25

[Commentary by Dragan Veselinov: "Trade Union Without Strength"]

[Excerpts] In Serbia, the united trade unions "Independence" are in a more difficult position than any other nonregime trade unions in the East. Today, because of privatization, the cowardly economic policy of Milosevic's young Serbs, and the foreign blockade, they are unable to demand a market economy to the extent

that eastern trade unions dare to do. Our independent trade unions are especially hard-hit by the quasi-patriotic war. The war demands of the population and trade unions that they refrain from criticizing the regime and that they sacrifice industry because of the encirclement of the "Serb lands." [passage omitted]

Not only is the state trade union "Alliance of Trade Unions of Serbia" stronger than "Independence," the political leeway of the latter has also been narrowed to a bare minimum. The state trade union faithfully follows Milosevic's war policy and only asks for a revalorization of the minimum wage. It does not attack the regime's politics, does not want reprivatization, and through its silence defends the political and ethnic extermination of employees. By defending the fascist ideology of uniform wages and mandatory annual leave for 100,000 people, it has invalidated "Independence," because it has forced it to take the political stage in direct conflict with the regime's entire "patriotic" policy. It is forcing "Independence" to be a party and to wear itself down in domestic political contention, because as a party it enters into an area where demands are not the essence of public contention. That is why there is no longer any talk here of reforming the system; all that is talked about is the bare minimum— a piece of meat, a just minimum wage, and the triumphant notices sent to pensioners saying that they will get a raise for the month that transpired two months ago.

And everyone is silent now, even though no one is satisfied. Still, there is a way out for "Independence." The trade union could draw on the strength of the state Alliance of Trade Unions of Serbia by joining it whenever it goes on strike. The state trade union, of course, will never get into serious conflict with the state. It will always be feeble, halting, and obliging in its negotiations with the authorities, but for that reason "Independence" would emerge from joint strikes strengthened, because it would not only support the goals of the state Alliance of Trade Unions but also demonstrate that the latter is always the first to abandon the battlefield. In this way, it can be compromised. "Independence" must join in when the state trade union rebels, but end its conflict with the authorities afterward. That might have been an option three weeks ago, when the state trade union, with gentle force, gave a terrible shock to the Sainovic government with its courageous general strike. This results in minor concessions, but can "Independence" organize a general strike? It appears not. In that case, its course is laid out: It must assume the position of a sycophantic state trade union.

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarians Demand Tripartite Autonomy

AU1005112893 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 93 p 4

[S. Basic report: "Autonomy in Autonomy"]

[Text] "We are the only legitimate representatives of the ethnic Hungarian people, and I consider myself and my aides to be serious politicians. We can wait, but we shall not retreat from our positions."

These words, recently spoken by Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM], point out the fact that in this "special interest organization," as they themselves put it, nothing happens by mere chance.

There is no doubt about the deliberation that went into the letter recently sent to Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic by the leader of the DZVM, with which he invites Sainovic to initiate dialogue because "the time has come for the concept of tripartite autonomy to be implemented." The content of the letter is more definite than that of other similar messages sent to republic authorities previously, while the time of its public dissemination is quite appropriate for the days in which the Yugoslav crisis should be settled.

Three Kinds of Autonomy

In late April last year, on the orthodox Easter holiday, the DZVM Assembly in Kanjiza approved the so-called tripartite autonomy, based on the concept of minority rights previously worked out by Lord Carrington.

The goal of that project, according to its authors, is the preservation of ethnic Hungarian identity, regardless of which part of Serbia they may live in, while the tripartite autonomy ought to be realized through the personal, territorial, and local self-government autonomy of ethnic Hungarians, who, as is well-known, already live in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, being an integral part of the Republic of Serbia.

The philosophical basis of that plan is personal autonomy, which presupposes independent decision-making by the representatives of the Hungarian minority in regard to culture, education, and public information, in observance of the legal and constitutional standards. The decisions would be made by the Minority Council, however, as the financial support and facilities for its work are necessary, which requires the approval of the Serbian Government.

Territorial autonomy means connecting the Hungarian-majority municipalities into one entity. That has already been implemented in Subotica, Senta, Kanjiza, Ada, Backa Topola, Mali Idjos, and Becej, where the DZVM won the elections. Right now it is working on "the ethnic cleansing in major communities in the Tisa River

basin," and the gradual acquisition of assets, as Dragan Bozinovic, head of the county of northern Backa, puts it.

The third level of autonomy is local autonomy, because there are even more villages in Vojvodina where Hungarians make up the majority. With regard to representation county-wide, however, they are a minority. The DZVM solves that problem through the granting of self-government to such enclaves, that is to say, through the right to make decisions upon the issues with respect to such village communities.

Equalizing a People and a Minority

The DZVM leadership does not recognize the difference between the constituent peoples and minorities in the former Yugoslavia. According to the DZVM leadership, Serbs are now a national minority in Croatia, as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which means that any possible future status of Serbs there, ought to be given also to ethnic Albanians, Hungarians, Muslims, and other nationalities in Serbia. The DZVM first demanded a special status, and thereafter chose to pursue the tripartite autonomy goal.

Agoston's people believe that if Radovan Karadzic signs the Vance-Owen peace plan, that will hasten the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, so they do not want to be excluded from that process. They are convinced that before the sanctions are lifted, pressure will be put on Serbia to make certain concessions to its minorities.

Hence the belief fostered by Agoston and the rest of the DZVM leadership that the days in which Karadzic's signature and the meeting of the Assembly in Pale are paving the way toward the peace and the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, are the right moment for the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina to make some new moves—which resulted in Agoston sending the letter to Sainovic.

That move fits into the concept of the new world order, according to which it is desirable to cut Serbia into pieces after the former Yugoslavia had fallen apart.

There is only one difference. The DZVM publicly declares itself against the separation and change of interstate borders, because, as Agoston says, "in this part of the world that is not possible without force and bloodshed."

"We want to live in Vojvodina in the 21st century as well, and the only guarantee for that to happen is tripartite autonomy," stresses the DZVM leader, adding that in the last three decades the number of local Hungarians has been constantly decreasing and that there is the danger of the remaining 350,000 ethnic Hungarians to emigrate en masse to Hungary or other countries.

[Box, p 4]

New Focal Point of Hate

The Vojvodina branch of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS/V] decided today that the Agoston demand regarding tripartite autonomy for the local Hungarian minority, which had been presented in the letter to Serbian Prime Minister Sainovic, was "groundless, provocative, colored with separatism, and unacceptable." The statement by the Regional Board of the SPS/V on the issue also stresses that the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, and the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, give all national minorities broad opportunities to fulfill their cultural, educational, informational, and other spiritual needs.

"The SPS/V believes that the DZVM leadership has been deliberately trying to destabilize the situation in this part of Serbia and Yugoslavia by expressing separatist and secessionist beliefs. That is also an attempt to create a new focus of hate, misfortune, and further pressures upon our country," the SPS/V states in the text.

"The SPS/V firmly believes that the great majority of the people in Vojvodina, regardless of their nationalities, are aware of the great values of life together and that they will resolutely nurture and protect it, while the socialists will also contribute to it," the statement concludes.

[Box, p 4]

Agoston Letter to Sainovic

Agoston, chairman of the DZVM, sent a letter to Serbian Prime Minister Sainovic, in which he convinces him that "the time has come to establish tripartite autonomy for ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina," and invites Sainovic to initiate a dialogue on the issue.

The DZVM leader repeats in his letter the firm opinion of this political (interest) organization, that "the autonomy of Hungarians in Vojvodina is the only way to preserve their identity."

According to Agoston, the DZVM is a political element of the proposed autonomy, while the cooperation among the municipalities where Hungarians make up the majority emphasizes the possibility of establishing territorial autonomy without disregarding the interests of other nationalities.

In such municipalities, the ethnic Hungarians have already proven that they are capable of self-organization, however, for the realization of the concept of the tripartite autonomy they also find necessary the support of the Serbian Government.

"As we believe, the conditions for the so-called personal autonomy have been already achieved, which presupposes the independent decisionmaking in the fields of culture, education, and information," Agoston stresses.

"With the help of the government, one should examine the institutions, fixed property, and resources by which the foundations of the autonomy would be laid. It would be desirable that we start now with the consultations regarding the establishment of the Minority Council, as the highest body of the tripartite autonomy."